

The Leader.

"The one Idea which History exhibits as evermore developing itself into greater distinctness is the Idea of Humanity—the noble endeavour to throw down all the barriers erected between men by prejudice and one-sided views; and by setting aside the distinctions of Religion, Country, and Colour, to treat the whole Human race as one brotherhood, having one great object—the free development of our spiritual nature."—Humboldt's *Cyprus*.

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SATURDAY, APRIL 16, 1853.

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News of the Week.

GOVERNMENT has aimed a blow at Kossuth, with the intention of lending the power of England to defeat the Hungarian patriots; but the blow appears to be a miss. The first intimation of the fact appeared in the columns of the *Times*, where it was stated in a manner that showed how much that journal had been misled. It was said that a seizure of arms, ammunition, &c., had been made, as if it had been at the house of Kossuth; but there has been no seizure of arms; the house ransacked by the police is not Kossuth's; and, indeed, the whole story of the Leading Journal is a mystification. The next scene of the drama is in the House of Commons, where Sir Joshua Walsley, Mr. Thomas Duncombe, Mr. Bright, and Lord Dudley Stuart, put questions to Lord Palmerston, and were met with answers studiously framed for evading the questions, to make it appear that something like the tale sent to the *Times* had really happened, and to conceal the fact that Ministers were committed to a course as illegal as it is tyrannical. Under the proper head amongst our own news articles, the reader will find the true state of the case so far as it is yet known. It appears that some information had been given to Government; that police have broken into the warehouse of Mr. William Hale, a civil engineer, at Rotherhithe; that they found not "arms" but rockets; and that the store of those rockets had been known to Government before Kossuth's arrival in this country. To use the popular expression, Government has "found a mare's nest," and has exposed nothing, if not its own wish to play the part of spy and policeman to Austria. This has really been the important subject in Parliament; and if the sequel should resemble the facts disclosed already, the British House of Commons may be called upon to decide whether the deep disgrace shall lie upon itself, by its own sufferance, or be cast upon a baffled Government?

Before this affair, enjoying a kind of lull after the effort of attending to Mr. Gladstone's explanation of his financial measures, Parliament had been principally engaged about small contests, in which the Tories or "independent Members" have been taking the most active part. The Clergy Reserves Bill passed its third reading on Tuesday, with a decisive majority of 288 to 208. The Opposition took its revenge in beating Ministers on the subject of Kilmainham, the Chelsea Hospital of Ireland, discontinued by Mr. Fox Maule when he was Secretary-at-War. Mr. Isaac Butt now dis-

covers that grievance, and moved a resolution to restore Kilmainham to its former footing; a proposition which Ministers faintly opposed, and suffered to be carried against them by 195 to 138.

Another fight was taken by the Opposition against Mr. Milner Gibson's County Boroughs Bill; Sir John Pakington still taking the lead, and proposing an amendment merely to add a few elective Members to the great unpaid, which would give to our counties a constitution like that opprobrium of British Government, Guiana; but he was beaten. He only succeeded in delaying Mr. Milner Gibson's Bill.

Another party-move to turn the Master of the Rolls out of Parliament, by a Bill professedly excluding Judges from the elective House, was carried on the second reading. Amongst the opponents of the Judges was Sir Fitzroy Kelly, who described it as humiliating to the dignity of the Bench that a judge should go cap in hand before a "rabble." What humbles the judge, it appears, does not humble the gentleman! We presume that Sir Fitzroy will discontinue cringing to "rabble" when he shall be made a judge?

The carrying of the Jew Bill last night, by a majority of 288 to 230, was one of the most complete and decisive feats of the week in these party contests.

Mr. William Williams made an effort to bring the gross produce of the Revenue, including the cost of collection, under the notice of Parliament; but having extracted from Mr. Gladstone a statement that Ministers intended to take steps towards that end, he declared himself satisfied, and withdrew the motion.

It will be seen that party has had a chequered fate in the debates of the week, and so it has in the Election Committees. Mr. Keogh makes good his qualification for Athlone; Sir Thomas Herbert is elected for Dartmouth, and so is Mr. Aglionby for Cokermonth; but Mr. Arthur Mills is unseated for Taunton, Mr. Taylor for Tyne-mouth, and Colonel Bruen no longer survives to sit for Carlisle. The Lords agree to the inquiry into the corrupt practices at Canterbury, and the Commons have been considering whether Clitheroe should not be the subject of an examination.

The Leicester petition has proved a ludicrous failure, and Sir Joshua Walsley's seat is secure. Indeed, it never was otherwise. There was, after the last election, a practice on the Tory side of casting petitions against the opposite party by wholesale, to take what could be got; and, in some instances, to vamp up a means of bargaining one petition against another, in "the dark room"

of the Carlton Club, or the enlightened precincts of Cleveland-row. In the particular instances of Leicester, the practice of lavish petitioning afforded some witnesses an opportunity of visiting London, "in the season," at the expense of somebody. However, it is satisfactory to ascertain Sir Joshua's absolute safety just as he makes his value felt, by being one of the independent members to speak up for constitutional freedom now that it is menaced by the "English" Minister in the person of Mr. Hale.

The Court of Aldermen have declared for a reform of themselves; everybody having settled the question for them—the public, the Common Council, and even her Majesty's Ministers; for Lord John announced a measure on Friday. The Aldermen have at last made up their minds to undertake the duty, but they are going to do it after their own fashion. They will not consult the Common Council; they scout the public; they decline to confer with Ministers; like the Knights of St. John, they will fight for their hospitals to the last; but, like the Knights, they will be defeated—the chivalrous Sir Peter Laurie to be the Eynaud of his order, the last of its masters bravely defending the citadel.

Lord Ingestre, who is taking great pains to employ his station and opportunities beneficially for his fellow-countrymen of the working class; has procured a meeting and a public dinner to encourage the formation of model lodging-houses in the West-end. The Duke of Cambridge occupied the chair at the meeting, the Duke of Argyll at the dinner, and the mouth of the purse was opened freely. The *Times*, which does not like Lord Ingestre, satirizes charity dinners; and undoubtedly it is a slur upon English people that they cannot pay the tribute which they think due to misfortune or to patriotism—that they cannot find dwellings for the poor or aid for the Pole—without a ball or a feast. Nevertheless, so long as the more selfish of the aristocracy are content to eat and dance without a sacrificial libation of part of their luxury to parent Earth, mother and nourisher of their race, some comparative respect at least is due to those who do not forget their fellow creatures in their pleasures, or who make their pleasures subservient to good objects. Of Lord Ingestre, at least, it may be said, that he did not wait to dine before he tried to do his duty.

But, after all, the true social revolution from which the working classes will benefit most immediately is the rise of wages, which is constant and very general, if not universal. We have particu-

lars from all the chief towns and some of the agricultural districts. The carpenters, for example, are making good their claims where those claims are urged with sufficient concert and firmness. The building trades are particularly successful, and whereas we have lately had to note a rise of mason's wages from 3s. to 4s. in Truro, and to 5s. 6d. in Bradford, the rate now asked by the masons in Manchester is 5s. 6d. or 6s. The shipwrights of Sunderland have got a rise of 5s.; the shipwrights of Maryport have suspended a strike because their masters tell them they cannot afford to raise wages until trade be better. Seamen are getting a fair allowance. Still there are some places and some trades which do not altogether profit so much as they might by the improved times. In Somersetshire, and even in some parts of Cornwall, labourers are still living upon a pittance, notwithstanding the rise which we have noticed in several purely agricultural counties. In Cumberland, which is very quiet, the wages of labourers range from 10s. to 12s., and even 14s., sometimes with a garden and house-rent free. Suffolk, which not long since might be called a pauperized county, is now undergoing a steady rise. Here and there labourers are getting 8s. a week, but more often 9s. Thus, even out of the highway of trade, in the most purely agricultural parts, we see, by our own advices from various quarters, how the working classes are alive to the reasons why they should seek a fair share of the prosperity which now blesses the trade of the country.

The dangers of trade are principally in the direction of baseless or uncertain speculations—Peruvian railways, Spanish railways, Spanish "canalization" of rivers; French railways, and heaven knows what besides. The Spanish Government promises to guarantee a dividend on one of its railways: it would be better if it would guarantee, or rather pay, some of its old bonds; and people would believe it better, if its Government were not constantly under a threat of a *coup d'état*. Spain, in the agonies of a Ministerial crisis, with some of its military chiefs publicly offering to draw the sword in the defence of the constitution, is not in so good a condition to guarantee any shareholders as the usurping Government of France.

The Pope is raising his head once more. His subjects having been subdued for him, he has done much to subdue Austria's subjects for her, and now he is doing the same for France. At the instance of a "religious" newspaper editor, M. Veuillot, of the *Univers*, the Pope has rebuked Archbishop Sibour, who had opposed the prohibition of the classics in public schools, and has told the clergy of France that they must teach absolute obedience to the decrees of Rome.

A scene in Belgium is a hopeful contrast to the spirit of vulgar despotism or craven submission which the general Continent presents. The Duke of Brabant, heir to King Leopold, has just come of age, and has been made a Senator. In administering the oath, the President of the Senate hailed the young Prince as son of a man who had faithfully kept his oaths. Surely this affords a *cursus belli* to Louis Napoleon,—it is so manifest an affront! The King, however, speaks courageously,—If the Belgians will but hold together, he says, they can defy all their enemies. Any nation might adopt that avowal;—it is the spirit of craven submission which is the true traitor to national independence.

THE WEEK IN PARLIAMENT.

MINISTERS have this week been exposed to more than usual vicissitudes—two defeats, a damaging exposure—barely compensated for by two victories.

PASSING OF THE CANADA BILL.

The week opened with a debate of some interest, and a Ministerial victory of the first magnitude. The Canada Clergy Reserves Bill was pressed forward, carried successfully to a division on the third reading, and finally passed the Commons on Monday, the 11th of April, thus early disposing of one of the most considerable

measures of the session. The debate was remarkable for the absence of novelty which characterized its progress, the languor of the opening, and the comparatively dramatic finish,—a species of single combat between Sir John Pakington and Lord John Russell. These two statesmen, indeed, may be said to have opened and closed the discussion, which occupied nearly the entire evening.

Replying to his questions, Lord John startled the late Colonial Secretary at the outset, by stating that the law officers were of opinion, that in the event of the clergy reserves being secularized, the guarantee would have no effect, and that Government did not intend to introduce any provision to give effect to the guarantee. Some other interrogatories of an unimportant kind were interposed, and the debate was begun by Mr. WALFOLLE, who severely criticised the Government for the inconsistencies of their conduct while the Bill had been before the House.

It was said that the Bill was only to give the Canadian Government power to deal with local matters; but really the Bill gave them power over the funds invested in this country. He insisted that the endowments accorded to Protestants could be taken away simply by the Canadian, while Roman Catholics would be secure in their endowments, except from the Imperial Parliament. Then it was said that existing interests were guaranteed; but no Minister had been able to point out in what the guarantee of existing interests differed from the guarantee of the whole reserves which they were asked to abrogate. Parliament, he said, was a trustee, and could not delegate its duties unless sure that the persons to whom it delegated power would act as well as itself. His argument was, that a pledge had been given that these endowments should be permanent, and the honour of the Crown was involved in the maintenance of that pledge. He described the Act of 1840 as solemnly ratified and accepted by both parties, and asked how they dared to break it. Winding up a long, dull speech, he prophesied the most disastrous consequences—a church destroyed, religious strife, war of races, and the loss of the colonies.

Mr. HUME was diametrically opposed to all these views. In his opinion, the evil consequences described would result if the Bill were not passed. He dissented entirely from the doctrine that Parliament could not resume what it had given. Suppose, said he, that there were a majority of Quakers in the House of Commons, and that they resolved to abolish Church establishments. Would they not reserve the property no longer required for purposes to which it had been heretofore appropriated? The argument that a breach of faith had been committed was untenable. Land was granted to the clergy in New South Wales in 1825, but resumed in 1835, because the grant excited odium.

Mr. DRUMMOND was, as usual, caustic and amusing. He described the principles of the Government, not as Lord Aberdeen had said, "Conservative progress," but as "consistent Radicalism." He then continued—

But there was another extraordinary thing connected with this bill—that when a certain bishop thought it but right and fair to stand up for the property of his absent brethren, one of her Majesty's Ministers forthwith charged him with being "the pest of his diocese." (Hear, hear.) Now, that a gentleman should begin to abuse an adversary whom he cannot answer *secundum artem*, was perhaps all very fair: but that he should accuse him in a matter which was not before him did seem very like "consistent Radicalism," but not much like "Conservative progress." (Hear, hear.) But there was another extraordinary matter. Another bishop had strongly recommended and justified this proposed plunder of the church in Canada. He (Mr. Drummond) thought that this was a matter well worthy of consideration, because, no doubt, hon. members would remember the anecdote of King James and Bishops Andrews and Neyle (the Bishops of Winchester and Durham). The King having asked them whether they would not part with some portion of their temporalities to assist him in some pressing emergency, Bishop Neyle replied, "Your Majesty is the light of our eyes and the breath of our nostrils; do with us as you please." Bishop Andrews, however, was silent, but on being pressed by the King to answer, he said, "I certainly think your Majesty may take the property of the see of my brother of Durham." (Laughter.) Now Mr. Drummond thought that the same view was well worthy of the consideration of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who he hoped would be disposed to say that the House had certainly a right to take the temporalities of the see of Oxford. (Continued laughter.) The right hon. gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had said, that the object of the present measure was not to secularize the clergy reserves, but merely to allow the Canadians to deal with the matter. The discussion of this question had furnished a curious instance of the way in which gentlemen would admit a wrong to be done, provided the parties doing it did not make use of harsh language. Among the gentlemen who sat upon the Ministerial benches were many *soi-disant* friends of the church; and such phrases as "sacrilege," and "ecclesiastical plunder," or any expression of that kind, sounded, of course, very harsh in their ears; but, if matters were so managed as to avoid these ugly words, and say that they would not hear of such a thing in Canada, and that the object of the bill was merely to allow the Canadians to deal with church property, they had no objection to offer to the measure. He believed that the gentlemen who supported this measure from behind had too much sense to quarrel about words. (Cheers from the Opposition.) The argument of the Chancellor of the Exchequer would be just as strong if

the word "Island" were substituted for "Canada." It was not the honest supporters of the bill he was now condemning, it was the humbugs. (Laughter.)

He described total separation of the colonies from us—"a good thing"—as a necessary consequence of Free-trade in Cotton and Corn.

Mr. KER SEYMEN, speaking from the Opposition side, made some striking statements. In his view Mr. Drummond was the Radical, for he foresaw the loss of our colonial empire.

He knew no greater proof of the progress of public opinion than the present state of the clergy reserves question. He recollected hearing the President of the Board of Works, Sir W. Molesworth, speak with great ability—though he was sorry to say not with much effect—on the question of colonial right and self-government. He recollected also hearing the noble lord who was now the leader of that House, Lord J. Russell, speak rather slightly of the proceedings of a society of which Mr. Seymour was a member—he meant the Society for the Reform of Colonial Government—a society which had suspended its proceedings because its principles had been fully adopted by the Government.

The ground on which he would vote was that the colony had a right to manage its own affairs. And as to the finality of her settlement in 1840, it was no more final than a treaty of peace which was also made, to last for ever.

He might, perhaps, be allowed to address a few words to honourable gentlemen on his own [the Opposition] side of the House. There were many honourable members, straight-running men, in whom whippers-in delighted to whom he might say that this straight-running principle was a very dangerous one to apply to colonial affairs. If they, as an Opposition, opposed any measure on which the people of England had set their hearts, they would be sure to hear of it when they met their constituents at the hustings; but they had no such means of squaring accounts with their colonial fellow-subjects, for, if they met them, it must be on the field of battle. He would give his cordial support to the measure proposed by Her Majesty's Government.

Passing over the four next speakers, who alternately attacked and supported the bill, with the ordinary arguments, Mr. LIDDELL, Sir EDWARD DERING, Mr. CHILD, and Mr. PEEL, we come to Mr. NAPIER. He, following Mr. Walpole's lead, insisted that the Bill put the Protestants on a lower level than the Roman Catholics; and that the settlement of 1840 was for all time. He entered into refinements about the value of a Parliamentary title if it of the clergy to the reserves were set aside; and he tried to show that where the Crown conquered a country, and granted lands to a church there, those lands should not be surrendered simply because the people had got representative government. The Bill was one of spoliation—a confiscation of vested rights and interests. The SOLICITOR GENERAL, in a brief speech, laid it down that Parliament was only bound to provide for existing interests, and this the Bill did provide; after that he contended they were free to enter on the path of public policy.

Sir JOHN PAKINGTON seemed overcome by his emotions. He was afraid that the proceedings of that evening would throw a stain on the character of British statesmen. (Laughter.) He had heard with grief and astonishment the replies given to his questions that evening by Lord John Russell. The noble lord was bound either to withdraw the Bill or provide for the full effect of the guarantee. In his opinion it was a sad day for England—(laughter)—when men of high personal honour were led by party feeling to deviate in their public dealings from the high principles on which they acted in their "private capacity." Having fired off these remarks, he attempted to show that the settlement of 1840 was final; because Lord John Russell said it was proposed to make the guarantee perpetual, and Sir Robert Peel spoke of it as being "in perpetuity." Here is a specimen of his style of argument.

Another argument used by the advocates of this Bill was founded, to his surprise, upon an expression used in one of his own despatches with regard to the possible re-distribution of this property. Because he had admitted the possibility of re-distribution, the right hon. gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer thought that justified him in spoliation. (Cheers.) Now, he could not understand the logic of this argument. It was cheered, he noticed, by a member for the University of Cambridge (Mr. Goulburn), who was an ecclesiastical commissioner, and was, therefore, busily engaged in the re-distribution of Church property. Sir J. Pakington was one of those who had always thought that the late Sir R. Peel, when he established the Ecclesiastical Commission for the purpose of re-distributing Church property, proved himself a true friend to the Church of England, and had done one of the wisest acts which marked his career. But Mr. Goulburn would not be ready to admit that, because he was occupied in re-distributing Church property for strictly ecclesiastical purposes,—he was engaged in the spoliation or the confiscation of Church property.

He was prepared to do justice and take the consequences. He perorated in predictions.

He had always believed that when the union of the two provinces was signed, from that moment the separation of Canada from England became only a question of time. He

should be sorry to see the time when Canada was lost to this country; but, if there was one measure more than another by which that moment would be accelerated, it was by the deep offence the Government were now giving to the loyal portion of the Canadians. (Cheers.) This was a wrongful Bill; he could not be diverted from his deep conviction that the guarantee could not in honour be withdrawn, and that Parliament was bound by the law of this country, as laid down by the judges, who stated that when once appropriated, these lands became property. He held that they could not either touch that property or, under the circumstances, authorize others to touch it, without being guilty of an act of spoliation. (Hear, hear.) As an act of spoliation, then, he regarded this Bill, and he denounced it as a breach of faith on the part of the Crown, a compromise of the honour of Parliament, and as inconsistent with the welfare of the empire. (Cheers.)

LORD JOHN RUSSELL admitted that Sir John had not shrunk from the consequences which might result from rejecting this Bill. But when he spoke of broken guarantees, it was worth while for the House to consider the nature of the appropriation before they rejected the measure. He then showed how Mr. Pitt had admitted that the Bill of 1791, constituting the two provinces and reserving the land, might be revised, and had, at the suggestion of Mr. Fox, inserted a power to vary and repeal the Bill; how Lord Goderich, in 1831, had proposed to part with the endowment altogether, and how finally, in 1840, an alteration had been made in the distribution of the fund. Readily admitting that, at the time, he hoped the measure of 1840 would be final, Lord John insisted that after the Canadian legislature had prayed for power to deal with the reserves, it could not be refused. He contended that it was matter of domestic arrangement.

Was it a matter of domestic arrangement for them that, the members of the Church of England being one-eighth of the population of Upper Canada, they should have half the proceeds of these funds? Was it a matter for consideration by the Canadians themselves, or one for consideration by the population of the United Kingdom, and to be settled by the Imperial Legislature? He thought it could not be well doubted that the persons interested in the arrangement were the people of Canada. But what said the right hon. gentleman? What had he said when Secretary of State? Why, he said he was for re-distribution; he said he should not object at some time, and if sufficient cause were shown, to adopt a re-distribution of that property, and now he said that re-distribution was entirely different from spoliation—(cheers from the Opposition)—and that Mr. Goulburn was himself engaged in the re-distribution of church property in England. But Sir J. Pakington must not escape in that way. What his right hon. friend was engaged in doing, was the transfer of the property held by the clergy of the established Church in one part of England to the clergy of the Church in another portion of the kingdom. (Cheers and counter-cheers.) What was proposed in Canada was not a re-distribution of this kind, but it was to give to those other Protestant colonists, and even to the Roman-catholics—(ironical cries of "hear," and counter-cheers)—according to their numbers, when the Church of England numbered but a small portion of the population, and they comprised seven-eighths of that population,—to make a re-distribution of these revenues, more in conformity with the requirements of the colony. This was a totally different thing from the re-distribution in which his right hon. friend was concerned, and he hoped that, if such were the doctrines held by Sir J. Pakington, he would, as a friend as he was to the Church of England, not apply those doctrines to the Church in this country. Lord John had procured the opinion of the law officers on the bearing of the guarantee; and it had given Sir John that particular kind of satisfaction he called "pain." Lord John's audacity increased. He contrasted the arguments of Mr. Hincks and Sir John Pakington. Sir John had said, he could not bear that a matter of such importance as this should be decided by an accidental majority, whereupon Mr. Hincks very aptly inquired, if accidental majorities were not to decide such questions, what was the meaning of constitutional government—what was to be said as to the many decisions that had been made by the Parliament of this country during the past century? And Mr. Hincks further pointed out, that the principle sought to be enforced was not the result of an accidental decision, but of the deliberate judgment of the people of Canada. He must confess he had been quite mortified to see a Secretary of State so fairly and completely defeated in argument by a colonial functionary. (Laughter.) He replied to Mr. Walpole by telling him, he had better lay his views as to the badness of the voluntary principle, and the goodness of an establishment, before the Canadian Assembly. While he would concur with Mr. Walpole if his arguments applied to the United Kingdom, yet when the question was put with relation to the people of Canada he did not shrink from any consequences of the admission—the case was different. If the people of Canada were to say, "We are of opinion that a church establishment is not for the benefit of Canada—that religion will not be injured by the adoption of the voluntary principle, and that neither the Church of England, nor the Church of Rome, nor the ministers of any other denomination, ought to have incomes from the States or any portion of the clergy reserves," he should certainly say, that the people of Canada were perfectly entitled to act upon that deliberate opinion. If, on the other hand, they should think that, at least, a large portion of these clergy reserves ought to be distributed equally among the ministers of the various religious denominations, he should think they had come to a very wise conclusion; at the same time it was a conclusion which he should employ no force, no compulsion of any kind, in an attempt to realize. Lord John wound up the debate in this spirited fashion:—If we tell the people of Canada that

we must have our own notions adopted by them, that we must have our own ideas prevail among them, that our own rules and our own regulations must be their normal rules and regulations, then, indeed, the connexion between this country and that great province would be brief. He was quite sure that the great majority of the House would agree with him in the opinion, that to say to a great province such as Canada, with 2,000,000 of people, its population and its wealth daily, hourly increasing; distant 3,000 miles from our own shores, its condition differing in many respects from that of the United Kingdom—to say to such a province as the right hon. member for Midhurst would say to it—"You must leave it to us to make all laws and regulations for you, and you must be content to have merely the minutiae of municipal administration left to your own discretion,"—to say this would be not simply unwise, but impossible. No; the connexion between us and Canada must be founded on liberal and generous principles; so founded, it was his firm belief the connexion would long endure. The Canadians, valuing that generosity, would still honour the name of Britain—would still cherish a bond honourable alike to them and to us—a connexion creating prosperity alike for them and for us. Adopt the policy advocated by the right hon. gentleman, and we lose not only this noble colony, but many others. The principle of the measure, let him repeat, was no new principle; it was one of the grand principles on which our colonial empire was founded, and to which he trusted the House, by agreeing to the third reading, would manifest its resolution to adhere. (Cheers.)

The House then divided; the numbers were—

For the third reading . . . 288

Against it . . . 208

Majority . . . —80

The bill was then read a third time and passed.

GOVERNMENT BEATEN.

As if to compensate for the victory of Monday, Ministers were subjected to a small defeat on Tuesday. Briefly stated, and it does not bear amplification, the occasion was this:—MR. ISAAC BUTT moved an address to the Crown praying that Kilmalsham Hospital, the Chelsea of Ireland, should not be abolished. He stated that the hospital was founded by Charles II.; that it was supported up to 1794, partly by the stoppage of sixpence a month from the pay of the Irish army; but that subsequent to 1794 it had been mainly sustained by a Parliamentary grant. In 1851, Mr. Fox Maule, obeying the inspiration of a Committee on the army estimates, and for the sake of saving some 7000*l.*, directed the governors not to admit any more pensioners. It was this proceeding he wished to set aside. It was a matter affecting the feelings of the Irish soldier. In reply to this, MR. SIDNEY HERBERT alleged that the system of in-pensioners was proved to be bad, old soldiers preferring to live in the bosom of their families; and he stated in support of his opinion, that recruiting in Ireland never went on better than now. MR. WHITESIDE went great lengths in favour of the motion. He attacked the Government and the political economists, whose brains he said were red tape, whose hearts contained ink bottles for blood. The House interrupted him with cries of "Divide." So the debate proceeded, Lord SEYMOUR and MR. ELLICE speaking against the motion. The arguments on one side were that a saving would be effected, and that these institutions were more useful for civilians than military; and on the other, that Kilmalsham was for the Irish army—that its abolition would be an insult to Ireland, and that this ought not to be done, especially for a paltry economy.

On a division, Ministers found themselves wofully beaten, and Mr. Butt carried his motion by 198 to 131.

TAXES ON KNOWLEDGE.

MR. GIBSON brought forward his resolutions for the repeal of the taxes on knowledge, on Thursday night; and Government were again defeated. He made a most able and exhaustive statement of the whole question. Taking first the paper duty, he showed its injurious effect on the industry of the country, and especially pointed out that it restricted the labour market in the counties, as it was a rural manufacture. He then showed how oppressively it operated upon the book-selling trade, and indirectly on the men of letters. Having exhausted this subject, he attacked the advertisement duty, and proved how extremely hurtful and unjust it was to all classes seeking employment, or requiring labourers, and making known wants of all kinds. He showed that if the duty were repealed, the whole of it would not be lost to the revenue, for on the increase of advertisements would follow an increase of the number of letters sent through the post. The next subject was the stamp duty. The history of the imposition of this he minutely detailed, from the Licensing Act of 1680 to the Stamp Act passed in Queen Anne's reign, and Castlereagh's Act for "restraining small publications at a low price," one of the Six Acts passed in 1819; showing that the duty was avowedly imposed for the purpose of putting down the press for the people—

The act, then, was not "for the purpose of granting a supply to his Majesty," but avowedly for the purpose of

restraining the press. In December, 1810, Lord Ellenborough said, upon the Newspaper Stamp Act:—"It was not against the respectable press that this bill was directed, but against a *pauper press*, which, administering to the prejudices and the passions of a mob, was converted to the basest purposes—which was an utter stranger to truth, and only sent forth a continual stream of falsehood and malignity—its virulence and its mischief heightening as it proceeded. If he was asked whether he would deprive the lowest classes of society of all political information, he would say that he saw no possible good to be derived to the country from having statesmen at the loom and politicians at the spinning jenny." Lord Erskine protested against it. Among its opponents were, Sir James Mackintosh, Mr. Brougham, Mr. Tierney, Viscount Althorp, Lord John Russell, and Sir James Graham, whose names were to be found in the minority against that bill, on the ground, as stated by Sir James Mackintosh, that it was an attempt to put a restraint upon the liberty of the English press. The distinguished leaders of the Whig party in that day were the men, small in numbers, who fought the good fight of freedom in behalf of the press against Castlereagh and the Ministers of that day; and he called upon them to refer to their former eloquent and enthusiastic speeches, expressed sometimes with a feeling and in terms that he would scarcely venture to imitate, to act in consistency with those great principles; and, to come now in other and better times, when we had a contented and happy population, when there were no signs of disorder, and when they were contemplating the extension of the political franchise—he called upon them to let the precursor of that political franchise be a free and unrestricted press, giving to the masses that knowledge and that intelligence by which alone they could be enabled to exercise their political franchise with advantage to their country. He showed further, that Lord Lansdowne had objected to abolish the whole stamp because it could not be done with "safety." The term "safety" was applied to the policy. He asked the House was it safe now? Was there any reason why the leaders of both parties should not unite under the altered circumstances to remove that duty? He trusted he did not appeal in vain to gentlemen on both sides of the House. He declared upon his conscience that he did not view this as a party question. All parties had an interest in their views being promulgated: and in these days he did not see that any party in the State could fear the consequences. On the contrary, they ought to hail with exultation any means that might be devised for extending useful knowledge—ay, and political information among the great body of the people. The House would remember that when Lord Melbourne reduced the stamp duty he was charged with having "courted the Radicals." But these were times when to be a radical could be no reproach. We had got a radical in the administration, we had a radical in the cabinet, and more than that we had a radical acting with those who once were conservative ministers. (Cheers.) In a recent letter Lord Brougham had condemned the stamp because it prevented the diffusion of useful knowledge among the peasantry. Mr. Gibson also, with great detail, showed the vexatious, uncertain, and unjust character of the law. He moved the following resolutions:—1. That the advertisement duty ought to be repealed. 2. That the policy of restraining the cheap periodical press from narrating current events, by rendering it liable to stamp duties and other restrictions, 'if any public news, intelligence, or occurrences, or any remarks or observations thereon,' be contained therein, is inexpedient, and at variance with the desire now generally expressed in favour of the diffusion of knowledge among all classes; and it appears also to this House that the law relating to taxes on newspapers, and other regulations affecting public prints, is in an unsatisfactory state, and demands the attention of Parliament. 3. That the Excise duty on paper, while impeding the development of an important manufacture, also materially obstructs the production of good cheap literature; and the maintenance of this tax, as a permanent source of revenue, would be impolitic and inconsistent with the efforts which Parliament is now making to promote education among the great body of the people."

MR. EWART seconded the motion. MR. GLADSTONE, characterizing the speech of Mr. Gibson as able and comprehensive, did not attempt to reply to it. He declined to speak of the question of policy, and confined himself to the financial part of the question. But he announced a new bill to clear up the state of the law (an announcement met by cries of "Oh" from his supporters.) Then in a long speech he said, in many ways that it would be unwise of the House to pass these resolutions, condemning taxes which they were not prepared to repeal; especially as he would make his financial statement on Monday. He said that within eight weeks propositions had been made in that House to abolish duties amounting to 7,800,000*l.* He thought there had been a progress; the stamp duty had been reduced from 4*d.* to 1*d.*, and the advertisement duty from 3*s.* 6*d.* to 1*s.* 6*d.* He condemned again and again invitations to give votes on isolated grounds, without any general or comprehensive view of the state of the revenue. But he had not any hostility to the object of the motion.

With regard to the question of policy, he had stated in the most distinct terms that the Government had no wish to retain, and would not retain, any restraint whatever upon the press for the sake of restraint; that for them the question would be a purely fiscal question; and that the claims of newspapers for relief from taxation, if it could be shown (which probably it might be) that they paid more than an equivalent for the service they received, should meet with fair consideration, and he meant by fair consideration a just and impartial comparison between those claims for relief and the claims of the other great

interests concerned in the reduction of taxation. The right hon. gentleman could not ask him for more; if he stood where the Chancellor of the Exchequer was standing he was quite certain he would not give more—he would not consent to these affirmations. If Mr. Gibson were finance minister he would not consent to adopt a policy of promises instead of performances.

He begged to move the "previous question."

Mr. BRIGHT ably came in to reinforce the position of Mr. Gibson; and on the same side, one after another, rose Mr. WILLIAMS, Mr. DANBY SEYMOUR, Mr. J. S. PHILLIMORE, and Mr. J. L. RICARDO; who drew from the ATTORNEY-GENERAL the following statement:—

The publication against which Mr. Timin had proceeded—and which was issued in the district with which the hon. member who spoke last was connected—was as much a newspaper as the *Times*, *Herald*, or *Chronicle*, and it was only fair that it should be subjected to the same stamp duty as was imposed upon those journals. The object of the measure which the Government was about to introduce was to remedy certain defects in the stamp law, and to remove the doubt and uncertainty which had been caused by the decision of the Court of Exchequer in the case of a publication called the *Narrative of Current Events*. The bill would insure the payment of the stamp duty by all publications which were really newspapers, while it would exempt from it publications like the *Narrative of Current Events*, which were published at intervals exceeding twenty-six days.

LORD JOHN RUSSELL made a curious speech, in support of Mr. Gladstone's view. Furthermore, he denied that all these taxes could be called taxes on knowledge. He made this declaration of policy:—

It was said that the tax on newspapers was intended as a restraint on the diffusion of useful information. If that were really the object of the tax, it would be inconsistent with the policy of the country. Let information be diffused as widely as possible, and let people form their opinion according to all the lights they could obtain. For his part, he looked upon the stamp duty as a tax imposed for the purpose of revenue, rather than of restraint. The argument on the other side was pushed too far, and the benefit which might be expected from the repeal of the duty was exceedingly exaggerated. Could it be seriously maintained that the removal of the duty would encourage moral and religious publications, and yet afford no advantage and facility to persons who wished to issue publications of an opposite character? It, unfortunately, could not be denied that there was a portion of the community to whom publications intended to appeal to the imagination and excite the passions were more attractive than publications of a moral and religious nature.

Mr. DISRAELI made a diversion against Ministers. He reminded the House of the course he had last year pursued with respect to these taxes, when he drew a distinction between the duties on paper and the two other propositions for abolishing the advertisement duty and the penny stamp; and he also drew a distinction between the advertisement duty and the penny stamp. From what had been then said by Lord Derby it was clear that his Government thought the earliest opportunity should be taken to reduce the duty on advertisements, and he had, therefore, only to consider now how far the revenue was able to bear the reduction. They had now a larger surplus than formerly, and the amount of the advertisement duty was so inconsiderable, that although he could not at present recommend the abolition of all these duties, yet he thought they might repeal the duty on advertisements. He strongly deprecated an idea that was sought to be impressed upon the House, to the effect that no one should propose any reduction of taxation except a Chancellor of the Exchequer; and it would be therefore extremely dangerous to follow the advice of Lord John Russell, for after the budget they would have no chance whatever of carrying such a motion.

He was not of the opinion that the press of this country could be too free. (Cheers.) He knew that, as the press was now constituted, it was considered that its agency and its efforts were not favourable to the opinions he and his friends held, or the views they advocated. It was more probable that a press eminently utilitarian, and which appealed only to reason, would exercise its influence against them, but a Conservative press was not only a press that appealed to reason, or ought to do so, but was one that appealed to the feelings; therefore, if its power were greater, its influence more extensive, and its agency more diffused, it would be, in proportion, more valuable and more influential.

He would have the House to approach this subject in a spirit of caution, and he therefore recommended the House to agree to the first resolution of the right honourable gentleman, but not to agree to the two others.

Mr. S. HERBERT smartly replied that, notwithstanding his abstract opinions in favour of repealing those taxes, Mr. Disraeli nevertheless had himself, when Chancellor of the Exchequer, voted against their repeal.

Mr. CORDELL here struck in with effect. He accepted the assistance of the Opposition with all his heart. (Cheers.) He added some cogent arguments on the general question, and concluded with this striking declaration:—

After paying great attention to the question of national education, he had arrived at the deliberate conviction that, in the interest of the great mass of the people, if he could

see the taxes upon knowledge removed, he would agree to abolish every grant for education given by that House. He despaired, at present, of seeing an efficient system of national education carried; and, give him the removal of these impediments to knowledge, and he would willingly give up all the sums now voted for education. (Cheers.)

LORD R. GROSVENOR regretted the speech of Mr. Disraeli, as being calculated to lower the character of public men in this country, by imitating the arguments of his opponents. He had on the former occasion voted for the motion of the right hon. gentleman, for it was then met with a direct negative by Mr. Disraeli, whereas now the Chancellor of the Exchequer, though unfairly treated by having such a motion pressed so shortly before the budget was to be produced, only met it with the previous question, the meaning of which was, that at the earliest possible period he would repeal the tax.

Sir J. PAKINGTON commented on the inconsistency of the noble lord, who had shown no consideration for the Chancellor of the Exchequer, when he carried against him his motion for the repeal of attorneys' certificates. He should certainly vote for the motion of the member for Manchester.

Mr. MAGUIRE, without caring who proposed or who supported a motion, would vote according to his own conviction of the merits of the question, and he would therefore support the motion of Mr. M. Gibson.

The House then divided on the previous question—"That the question be now put" on each proposition. The affirmation of this was accepted as carrying the resolution. The numbers were—

For the first resolution . . . 200
Against it . . . 169

Majority against Ministers . . . 31

The House then divided on the second resolution, and the numbers were—

For it . . . 98
Against it . . . 280

Majority . . . 182

The House again divided on the third resolution, and the numbers were—

For it . . . 80
Against it . . . 275

Majority . . . 195

THE JEW BILL

Was read a third time, and passed, last night, by a majority of 288 to 230. The speeches for and against were characterized by a more than usual quantity of ecclesiastical argument. The principal speakers were, against the bill, Mr. WHITESIDE, Mr. WALPOLE, and Sir ROBERT PEEL; while for it were, Mr. BETHELL, Mr. BRIGHT—whose speech was rather novel, and very telling—and Lord JOHN RUSSELL.

ALLEGED SEIZURE OF WARLIKE STORES AT THE HOUSE OF M. KOSSUTH.

Sir J. WALMSLEY wished to put a question, having reference to an illustrious exile in this country, whom he was sure it would be the wish of the House and of the country to protect so long as he conducted himself according to the laws and regulations of the country. He had been induced to put the question in consequence of a statement which he found in one of the leading journals of this morning to the following effect:—"We believe that we are correctly informed when we state that, upon intelligence received by the Secretary of State for the Home Department and the Commissioners of Police, active measures have been taken to substantiate the charges which have been vaguely preferred against M. Kossuth and his adherents. Upon this legal authority a house, in the occupation of M. Kossuth, was searched yesterday morning at an early hour by the competent authorities, acting, we presume, under the Secretary of State's warrant, and the result of the investigation was, the discovery of a large store of arms, ammunition, and materials of war, which may be the stock in trade of a political incendiary, but certainly form no part of the household goods of a private gentleman living in pacific retirement." The question which he wished to ask was, whether there was any and what foundation for this statement as respected Louis Kossuth; also whether her Majesty's Government had given any assurance to the Government of Austria or any other foreign power respecting the surveillance of political refugees? (Hear, hear.) It might be convenient, if the honourable member the Secretary to the Treasury would permit him, before sitting down, to move that the House at its rising do adjourn till Monday. (A laugh.)

LORD PALMERSTON: I am not going to second the motion just made (a laugh), as it is obvious for what reason it has been moved, but shall confine myself to answering the question put to me as if no motion of the sort was before the House. The facts of the case referred to by the honourable baronet are, that information having been received that there were in a house somewhere near Rotherhithe—not in a house occupied by M. Kossuth—a quantity of military stores, and especially a larger quantity of gunpowder than was permitted by law to be held even by dealers, a search-warrant was issued in the ordinary course by the magistrate to the police, the house in question was entered yesterday, and in it

were found upwards of seventy cases, closely packed, containing, apparently for transmission to some distance, several thousand rockets, not such as are used at Vauxhall—(a laugh)—but for the purpose of war. There was also found a considerable number of rockets in various stages of preparation, and iron cases which usually contained the combustible matter. There were found 2000 shells not as yet loaded, a considerable quantity of that composition with which rockets are filled, and 500 lbs. of gunpowder. These things were seized by the police. Who they belonged to, or who were the persons employed in making them, the House will not, perhaps, expect me, in the present stage of the matter, to enter into. These will be questions for future consideration. But I think the House will agree with me that the Secretary of State for the Home Department, having been informed that there was reason to think that such an immense quantity of warlike stores were to be found in a private dwelling, was justified in taking those steps for the purpose of taking possession of these arms, and founding thereupon any such proceeding which the law advisers whom we may have to consult may think there is ground for taking. (Hear, hear.) I can assure my honourable friend that he is mistaken in supposing that the Government are acting in this matter upon any pledge, promise, or engagement given to any foreign Government, except that given in the face of Parliament—viz., that we should use our utmost exertions to enforce the law in this country, for the purpose of preventing that shelter, which I trust will always be given to foreign exiles who may come here, from any political cause whatever, being abused for the purpose of organising or carrying on hostile proceedings against other countries. (Hear.)

Mr. T. DUNCOMBE thought that this alarming statement of the noble lord with respect to the seizure of this vast quantity of warlike stores was calculated to excite feelings of alarm in the country. He would therefore ask the noble lord whether he was not fully aware that the house where these stores were found had been used for the manufacture of rockets for the last six years; and that, after all, it was really no house at all where these rockets were found? That, however, was the real state of the case. With respect to Kossuth, the whole statement in the *Times* appeared to have been a perfect fabrication. (Hear, hear.) At Rotherhithe, he believed, some most illegal proceedings had taken place, which would not only require explanation here, but which would also require the explanation of the Government in a court of law. (Hear, hear.) Now, it so happened that a Mr. Hale and Captain Warner, of whom the House had heard something in connexion with the long range—a laugh—were rivals, and Mr. Hale was the more successful of the two. Did not the noble lord know that Mr. Hale had taken out a patent for the manufacture of this kind of war rocket, and that he had offered it over and over again for sale to the Government, and that the sale of these rockets had been going on for the last six years to foreign governments? Did not the noble lord know that Prussia, Denmark, and other European powers had purchased rockets from Mr. Hale under his patent, and latterly a large quantity had been manufactured for Cuba [a laugh]? Did not the noble lord also know that within the last few months Mr. Hale had offered to the Government the whole of the stock which he possessed, and that the Government would have no more to do with it than they would with Captain Warner's long range. He (Mr. Duncombe) remembered well going with Lord Ingestre, who took a great interest in Captain Warner's invention, to see a vast quantity of instruments and implements of war at the house of Lord Salisbury, in Arlington-street. The Government of that day, equally as well as in the present case, ought to have issued a search-warrant, and taken those stores [hear]. He was informed by a relative of Mr. Hale that there was not one ounce of gunpowder on the premises—nothing, in fact, but these rockets, which had been offered over and over again to the Government, and which were notoriously sold at Rotherhithe, and which were originally made close to the arsenal at Woolwich. But it appeared also that, after having entered these premises, they were no private house at all. Mr. Hale lived at Chelsea, and was sent for the moment the police arrived there. The premises entered were occupied for a particular purpose, and he believed that a very illegal act had been committed by the police in entering upon the premises. He believed that the police were now trying to ride off on the plea that a warrant was issued under the authority of the Customs-house for searching for gunpowder, whereas the rocket composition was not gunpowder, and the Customs-house, therefore, had nothing to do with it. The statements which he had made were furnished to him by the son of Mr. Hale, and he believed them to be substantially correct [hear, hear].

Mr. BRIGHT said it had been admitted by every person, whatever opinion they might have of M. Kossuth's conduct in Hungary, in this country, or in America, that the character of such a man must be very dear to him, and that the press of this country ought not to be allowed without occasion to defame such a man [hear, hear]. He wished, therefore, to know whether at present, by any evidence before the noble lord, there was any more reason to believe that M. Kossuth was in any degree compromised in this matter—whether the facts of the case were as the noble lord had described, or as the honourable member for Finsbury had detailed them—more than any member of the Orleans party now in this country [hear, hear]? He had a right to ask that question, because he had been on the platform with that distinguished individual [ironical cheers]; and although nothing could induce him (Mr. Bright) to say that liberty was more likely to be promoted by recourse to arms than by any other course of proceeding which recommended itself much more to his judgment and principles, yet he should be extremely sorry either here or elsewhere, without sufficient proof, to disavow his connexion with, or admiration of, M. Kossuth [hear, hear]. He felt, as many others must feel, that he had some interest in knowing whether this statement which appeared in that powerful organ of the press—supposed

even to possess an intimate knowledge of the intentions of the Government—was correct. He felt that he was justified in asking the noble lord whether there was any ground of proof whatever that M. Kossuth was compromised in any way, or in any manner connected with this affair? He wished to have an explicit answer, because he thought it was due to that distinguished person that immediately after the charge had been made in a portion of the press, and which was then travelling over the wide world, that such an answer should be given that his character should be cleared, and that his exculpation should be circulated as widely as the charge (hear, hear).

LORD PALMERSTON: With respect to the question put to me by the honourable member for Finsbury, it appears to me that the honourable member knows so much more about the matter than I do myself, that if there were to be any interchange of questions and answers between us, I think that I ought to put the questions and the honourable member to answer me. (A laugh.) It was not out of any disrespect to the honourable member that I did not answer the question which he put to me. I must refer him to his own knowledge, and not to my acquaintance with the facts of the case.

MR. DUNCOMBE wished to know whether the noble lord was not perfectly well aware that the premises entered were the works of Mr. Hale?

LORD PALMERSTON: No; I really do not know that.

MR. DUNCOMBE: Would the noble lord, then, inform the house to whom the premises belonged, and the arms which were seized?

LORD PALMERSTON: I can only say that, though I must plead ignorance, I do not mean to dispute the assertion of the honourable member for Finsbury, that the premises might have been used as a rocket manufactory for the last six years. It is possible that that may be so. I do not, however, know. With respect to the other question put by the honourable member for Manchester, in regard to M. Kossuth, I am quite sure that the House will feel that, in the present stage of these proceedings, and with every respect to him—I have cast no imputations—I have not done so upon any person—I have stated that it remains to be ascertained to whom these premises belong, and who are the parties chiefly concerned in this manufactory; but I am quite sure that upon reflection he will feel that it would not be proper for me to enter into any of these details at present. (Hear, hear.)

LORD D. STUART considered it very convenient for the noble lord, whenever a question was put in the House which it was not agreeable to his feelings to answer explicitly, to indulge in the exercise of that pleasant talent for which he possessed to so high a degree. The noble lord was very much in the habit of having recourse to that mode of action, and sometimes in a manner which although the House at the time might enjoy, still could not altogether approve of. (Hear, hear.) With respect to the last question, however, put to the noble lord, he (Lord Palmerston) had declined to cast any imputation upon the distinguished individual alluded to. So far, therefore, they had got that, up to the present moment, the charge which had been brought against Kossuth by a portion of the press had not been supported by the Government, and that the noble lord the Secretary for the Home Department had at any rate refused to endorse that charge. (Hear, hear.) It was due not only to M. Kossuth, but to the House and to the public, to possess some information on the subject. With respect to M. Kossuth, whatever might be thought of him by those who had come to a conclusion before they had heard the evidence, he (Lord D. Stuart) saw no reason why persons who had hitherto felt reason to admire him should, at any rate for the present, withdraw those feelings from him. (Hear, hear.) He was able to state that M. Kossuth himself denied all knowledge of these transactions, and that he had declared in writing that he had no knowledge whatever of them until they were shown to him that morning in the newspaper which had so hastily—to say the least of it—given currency to the charge.

MR. AGLIOSBY said that, although he knew nothing of the case, still that sense of justice which he thought every Englishman should feel, induced him to express his opinion that it was certainly very hard upon an illustrious exile that he should be charged, as he had been informed M. Kossuth had been, in an article which had appeared in one of the morning papers, with an offence as if proved; whereas by the statement of the noble lord no such charge had been made by the Government. The article referred to stated that a house in the occupation of M. Kossuth had been searched, and a quantity of warlike stores found in it. Now, was that the fact? If he understood correctly what the noble lord had said, this house was not at all in the occupation of M. Kossuth. This statement was, therefore, made upon wrong information. (Hear, hear.) He was anxious, however, to call public attention to the fact, that it had been completely negatived that the house was in possession of M. Kossuth, and that nothing had been established up to this moment against him. (Hear, hear.) He thought that it was due to the character of the journal in which the statement appeared that its conductors should state that they had been acting upon misinformation; and that this apology should travel as widely in that paper as the erroneous statement had done.

The conversation then dropped, and the motion for the adjournment of the House, from its rising, to Monday next, was agreed to.

THE CASE OF MR. CRAFTFORD.

LORD D. STUART called the attention of the House, on Tuesday, to the expulsion of Mr. Crauford from the Tuscan dominions. Mr. Crauford, he said, was the brother of an honourable member of that House, and had for some years held office under the British Government in the island of Corfu. On his way to this country, Mr. Crauford passed through Florence, where he was compelled to stay a few days, in consequence of

the detention of the steamer. On returning to his home one night, he was, to his great surprise, accosted by two police officers, who told him that the orders of the Government were, that he should leave Tuscany within twenty-four hours. The following morning Mr. Crauford applied to Mr. Scarlett, the chargé d'affaires in Florence, who represented the case to the Tuscan Government. His intercession, however, was unavailing, and Mr. Crauford was further informed, that if he hesitated to leave Tuscany within the prescribed time, force would be resorted to in order to compel his departure. Mr. Crauford had done nothing to give offence to the Grand Duke of Tuscany—he had not even read his Bible. (A laugh.) He wished, therefore, to know whether the attention of her Majesty's Government had been directed to the case; if so, whether any remonstrance had been made to the Tuscan Government; and whether there would be any objection to lay the correspondence on the table of the House?

LORD J. RUSSELL said that it was perfectly true that Mr. Crauford was expelled by the Tuscan Government from its dominions, upon the suspicion of his being engaged in some revolutionary attempts, which were, however, entirely unfounded. The Secretary for Foreign Affairs had remonstrated on the subject, and had stated that Mr. Crauford had gone to Florence upon his way from Corfu. Upon this statement, the Tuscan Minister for Foreign Affairs had expressed his regret at the occurrence, admitted that the suspicions were unfounded, and stated that Mr. Crauford should be at liberty at any time, on his return to Corfu, to visit Florence without fear of being molested. With respect to the production of the correspondence, there was some difficulty on that subject, as he believed that it would tend in some degree to prevent the amicable settlement of difficulties of this character.

ABORTIVE MOTIONS.—Tuesday was signaled by two abortive motions. SIR DE LACY EVANS moved for leave to bring in a Bill to alter the scale of duties on carriages. He proposed to lighten the payment by those who were at present charged, and to impose a tax upon those who ought to be, but who at present escaped. He dwelt, among other points, upon the system by which carts, built nominally at a low price, and bearing the names of their aristocratic owners, evaded the duty, and upon the way in which carriages were put down, that the proprietors might compound at a low rate for the tax, and then resumed. MR. TURNER seconded the motion. MR. BRIGHT stated that the present system of taxation was most injurious to the coach-building business.

MR. GLADSTONE said, that the decline in the revenue from this tax, and in the receipts of the trade, were partially attributable to railways. But he admitted that the case was a hard one, that the taxes were high, and that the exemptions were very objectionable. But, to give relief, the House must either submit to a serious loss of revenue, or pluck up their courage and cut to the root of the exemptions. But as his own explanation on all such subjects would cease to loom in the future on Monday next, he should respectfully decline entering into further discussion at that moment.

SIR DE LACY EVANS thereupon withdrew his motion.

The same course was followed by MR. WILLIAM WILLIAMS, on a more important question. He moved resolutions to the effect that an enormous amount of the public money is annually intercepted in its way from the people's pockets to the Treasury, and that it is indispensable that the whole of the public income should, without any deduction, be paid into her Majesty's Exchequer. He stated that in 1851 the amount so intercepted and expended was 6,072,151*l.*, of which amount 5,622,267*l.* was deducted from the gross receipts of the taxes by the various revenue departments, and expended for the payment of their officers and other purposes, without the supervision and control of Parliament. Captain SCOBELL seconded the motion.

MR. GLADSTONE had a very simple duty to perform in reference to this motion. He had years ago expressed his opinion that the charges for collecting the public revenue should be under the control of Parliament, and he could now state that such measures were being taken on the part of Government as could be adopted for ameliorating an unsound system by introducing that principle. Nor would these endeavours be desisted from until accomplished.

MR. WILLIAMS expressed himself much gratified with the statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and withdrew his motion.

COMPULSORY VACCINATION.—LORD LITTLETON, who entered into the subject at great length, moved that the Vaccination Extension Bill should be committed. The Earl of SHAFTESBURY was of opinion that the demand for a compulsory enactment was valid. The Earl of ELLENBOROUGH suggested that the bill should be committed, and reprinted with the amendments for the purpose of increasing the facilities for vaccination amongst the poorer classes. This suggestion was agreed to.

CANTERBURY.—On the motion of Lord Aberdeen, the address for a commission of inquiry prayed for by the Commons, was agreed to in the Lords on Monday night. On behalf of the Opposition, Lord LYNCHURST, and Lord ST. LEONARDS, gave battle on technical grounds, but eventually withdrew without confessing themselves beaten. It appears that the Act of last year requires that the words "extensively prevailed" must be employed when any election committee wishes to intimate that a constituency is so corrupt that a searching inquiry should follow. Owing to the inadvertence of Mr. Ker Seymour, the chairman of the Canterbury committee, other words, importing a generally corrupt state of the borough, were

used; but it was found necessary to use the terms prescribed by the Act in the address. This, said the legal authorities, was telling the Queen an untruth, inasmuch as no election committee had reported in so many words that bribery "extensively prevailed." But it was argued on the other side, that the words used, "system of corruption generally prevailed," were equivalent to those required by the Act. A case of this kind was put: suppose the committee had reported that 299 out of a constituency of 300 voters were bribed—should that prevent a commission issuing because the word extensively was not used? The Duke of NEWCASTLE reproached the Opposition with taking merely technical grounds instead of betraying a willingness to assist the other House in an attempt to purify the representation of the country.

CLITHEROE.—On the motion of MR. GASKELL, and after a brief debate as to whether treating and intimidation came within the Act of Parliament as corrupt practices, it was agreed by 141 to 68 that a commission should issue to inquire into elections at Clitheroe. Incidentally MR. Walpole stated that he would shortly introduce a bill to amend and consolidate the laws relating to bribery, treating, and intimidation.

ELECTION COMMITTEES.—The Committees on corrupt elections have opened with the resumption of Parliament, but not in that force which characterised the opening of the session. Inquiries are proceeding into the elections of Cuckermouth, Taunton, and Tynemouth. At the first the evidence looks questionable, and refers to treating and kidnapping. The Taunton inquiry has resulted in the unseating of Mr. Mills, but the inquiry has still several issues. Tynemouth exhibits considerable depravity, as far as the evidence goes. The Dartmouth Committee have decided that Sir Thomas Herbert was duly elected. But the worst of the batch is Leicester, and that in a sense contrary to the others. The most shameful charges were preferred against Sir Joshua Walmesley and Mr. Gardner; but when investigated, they turned out to have been trumped up. Several men, named Ladlam, told the most absurd stories, some with reference to past elections. In fact, the petitioners had determined to get up a case, and were easily led to believe anything told them. The whole case for the petitioners broke down; and after protracting the opposition, the petition was, at length, withdrawn.

An attempt was made to prove that Mr. Keogh was not qualified, but the allegations were baseless. A combination to embarrass Mr. Keogh, in which the name of "C. Lempricre" occurs, was disclosed. The committee found that Mr. Keogh had been duly elected for Athlone.

NEW WRITS have been issued for Athlone, Carlow, and Huddersfield.

ECCLIESIASTICAL COURTS.—The following resolutions have been agreed to by the Committee on Ecclesiastical Courts, and have been ordered to be submitted to the Society for Promoting the Amendment of the Law:—

1. That the present jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts, so far as testamentary matters are concerned, is universally admitted to be unsatisfactory, and requires extensive reform.
2. That this reform should consist of a transfer of their present jurisdiction in testamentary matters to a court clothed with jurisdiction as well over wills of real as of personal estate.
3. That to create a new court for the purpose would be unadvisable if any existing court can be found to which such enlarged jurisdiction may be properly entrusted, and to which complete powers can be given.
4. That the existing courts of common law and county courts, not having an equitable jurisdiction or power of dealing with trustees, or with equitable matters arising in the construction of wills, should not, as at present constituted, be entrusted with such enlarged jurisdiction.
5. That the existing courts of equity, not having any power of empanelling a jury, or of conclusively deciding issues of fact, are under a similar disqualification.
6. That in order to do complete justice in testamentary matters, it is necessary that the court to which they are entrusted should possess the full and conjoined powers of a court of law and of a court of equity.
7. That no thorough or satisfactory settlement of the questions pending with respect to the testamentary jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts can be come to, except by its being exercised by a court of conjoined law and equity, having jurisdiction over wills of real and personal estate.
8. That it is the bounden duty of the Government of this country to provide such a court for the proper adjudication of all testamentary matters, and of this society to promote its establishment by every means in its power.
9. That the most desirable means of effecting this appears to be the union of the present law and equity commissions, and inviting their immediate attention to this important question.
10. That the above resolutions be taken as the basis of the first report of this committee.

It will be observed that the admirable speech of Mr. Solicitor General Bethell has anticipated much of this.

THE TIMES, LORD PALMERSTON, AND

M. KOSSUTH.

SEIZURE OF ARMS, &c.

THE Times of yesterday made the following statement:—

"Upon intelligence received by the Secretary of State for the Home Department, and the Commissioners of Police for the metropolis, active measures have been taken to substantiate the charges which have long been vaguely preferred against M. Kossuth and his adherents. Upon this legal information a house in the occupation of M. Kossuth was searched yesterday morning at an early hour by the competent authorities, acting, we presume, under the Secretary of State's warrant, and the result of this investigation was the discovery of a large store of arms, ammunition, and materials of war, which may be the stock in trade of a political incendiary, but certainly form no part of the household goods of a private gentleman living in pacific retirement. Indeed there is reason to believe that these preparations have been going on upon a scale entirely inconsistent with the notion of any mere pri-

vate speculation, and must have had in view hostilities or insurrectionary movements of a very destructive character."

On this statement the *Times* founded some unhesitating denunciations of M. Kossuth "and his adherents." The great journal, however, has been misinformed, and the paragraph we have quoted is crowded with misstatements. No house in the occupation of M. Kossuth has been searched; no arms, ammunition, or materials of war have been found in any house belonging to him. There has been a search, and "ammunition" has been found, but under very different circumstances from those detailed in the *Times*.

Mr. William Hale is a civil engineer. He has been distinguished for years for the invention of rockets and other weapons of war, and he has carried out his inventions for some time in a manufactory at Rotherhithe. He has had frequent communications with the British Government, and has placed at their disposal several useful inventions. With their cognizance he has also dealt largely with foreign Governments; he supplied the Americans with rockets in their war with Mexico, and supplied the Danes in their contest with Schleswig Holstein. His ingenuity and enterprise have received official and general recognition. Not long ago he was in communication with the Government regarding the sale of some of his rockets, and the existence of his factory at Rotherhithe was as patent a fact as the existence of the arsenal at Woolwich. On Wednesday evening last three policemen demanded entrance at the factory at Rotherhithe. Mr. Hale was absent. The man in charge refused admittance; the police threatened to break open the door, but the man, wishing to prevent injury to the building, gave up the key. The police entered and overhauled the premises and their contents, consisting of a large quantity of rockets, manufactured by Mr. Hale in the regular course of trade, and which he was anxious to dispose of to the Government.

A rough search was thoroughly carried out; rockets were found in profusion, but no gunpowder and no store of arms. The man hurried up to town to apprise his master, leaving the policemen in charge of the premises. A rocket manufactory requires peculiar care in keeping; exposure to damp may destroy a large amount of valuable property in a few hours, the composition used in the preparation of the rockets demanding much attention. That attention the policemen did not give; they simply overhauled the goods and kept watch over them. On hearing of this event, Mr. Hale hurried down from London, and finding his premises and property in the possession of strange men, he demanded their authority. One of them held up his staff. That was the only authority they had; but they referred Mr. Hale to Mr. Superintendent Evans. Mr. Evans showed Mr. Hale a Bow-street warrant to search the premises in question for gunpowder. "Well," asked Mr. Hale, "have you searched, and did you find gunpowder?" "We brought away some stuff," said the policeman. (Some of our readers may not know that it is illegal to have over 50 lbs. of gunpowder within three miles of London.) Mr. Hale demanded why his premises were guarded and his goods detained, if the object only was to search for gunpowder. No gunpowder had been found; some of his property had been taken away; the remainder was left, uncared for, in the hands of strange men; and the exposure to which it was subjected might cause the loss of hundreds of pounds worth of property. What was the charge against him? By what right was his factory broken open, his property overhauled, a part of his goods taken away, and the rest exposed to damage? Mr. Superintendent Evans could give no explanation. Mr. Hale applied to Commissioner Mayne, and "no answer" was returned as a reply.

Yesterday, Mr. Hale's son went down to Rotherhithe to inspect the premises and prevent damage. He asked to be allowed to take away some needed portions of the goods: he was refused. Mr. Hale himself has demanded permission to remove some of his property, that he might prevent injury to it: he has been refused.

The *Times* stated that "a house occupied by M. Kossuth" was searched. The house searched was never occupied by M. Kossuth: he was never in it. The *Times* stated that "arms, ammunition, and materials of war" certainly form "no part of the household goods of a private gentleman." The "materials of war" found were not there as the household goods of a private gentleman: they formed part of the articles in a business factory. The *Times* stated that they might have been "the stock in trade of a political incendiary;" they were the stock in trade of an English trader. The *Times* stated that the preparations were "upon a scale entirely inconsistent with the idea of any private speculation." The scale on which the Rotherhithe works are now carried on is the scale reached for the last five years. The *Times* stated that it presumed the police acted under a warrant from the

Secretary of State: the only warrant used was an ordinary Bow-street warrant, obtained upon a false pretence.

LETTERS FROM PARIS.

[FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.]

LETTER LXVIII.

Paris, Thursday, April 14, 1853.

FOR some days past we have been living in the midst of arrests, without number and without end. Bonaparte, alarmed at seeing the threads reunit of the conspiracy which will entangle him in ruin, has set on foot all the forces of the police to try to seize the threads of the plot, and so, if possible, to get at the chiefs of the vast organization which embraces all the working-men of Paris. Disheartened at the fruitless results, he is now endeavouring madly to recommence terrorism: but the time is gone by for that; and we are perfectly hardened. Meanwhile he is taking advantage of all occasions, small and great, to make arrests. Several citizens, suspected of entertaining correspondence with the London refugees, have been torn out of their houses, and thrown into the prison of Mazas. In many trades in which the workmen demanded an increase of wages on account of the rise of rents, and had struck to obtain it, they have been thrown into prison. A friend of my own, a working blacksmith, Lebon du Gros Caillou, one of the *artilleurs* of June 13, having lately died, a demonstration was organized to follow his body to the grave. Fifteen hundred men accompanied his mortal remains as far as the Barrière Mont Parnasse; but there the procession was charged in front and rear by two squadrons of municipal horse-guards, followed by a host of *sergents de ville*, who proceeded to knock down with leaded sticks all who came within arm's length, and to drag off to prison all who fell bleeding under their blows. We shall be compelled henceforth, whenever we want to bury our dead, to take muskets by way of tapers. Perhaps that is just what Bonaparte desires; certainly it is what he will one day get. More than 400 persons have been arrested this week and the last on these different pretexts.

All this time the Corps Législatif holds its sittings, and discovers that we live "in the best of worlds," (*dans le meilleur des mondes possibles*). These bought and sold individuals have been presented with the definitive settlement of the Budget for 1854. There was a report in four volumes, crowded with infinite details and certain adroit criticisms, I am told. No one offered to speak, and the items were voted by show of hands (*par assis et levé*). The whole affair took ten minutes. The Commission for the examination of the Budget of 1854 has been nominated: it is composed of names utterly insignificant—all the men of last year, with the single exception of M. Guin, having refused to form part of it. Apropos of this famous Budget *en équilibre*, do you know by what conjuring trick this precious equilibrium was obtained? Here is the receipt, which I recommend to the notice of your legislators and Finance Ministers. All the estimates of receipts were swollen out by calculating them, not on the mean average of the latter years of Louis Philippe's reign, but on the highest figure of last year. Thus, the product of the Customs was calculated on the month of November, 1852, giving the highest result ever yet obtained; whereas since that period the product of the Customs has been diminishing: we may therefore be sure that the total product of 1853 will be far below the estimate given. So it is with all the other branches of revenue. Hence this pretended balance is nothing more than an immense trickery. It has also been remarked with some surprise that the budget of the Ministry of War is still, or nearly so, at the same figure as that of 1853. What better proof can we have that the pretended reductions of the active forces were only designed to throw dust in the eyes of the donkeys on both sides of the Straits of Dover—the Mastermans of France and England. There is one item, however, which has gone through no such cooking process; I mean the Police; that budget attains the majestic elevation of six millions of francs (240,000*l.*). Lastly, would you like to know how much all the legislative apparatus of the new constitution costs us—Corps Législatif, Senate, and Council of State? All this business costs us just forty-three millions of francs (1,700,000*l.*). Add to that the twenty-five millions (1,000,000*l.*) of Bonaparte's civil list, and we get the very pretty total of sixty-eight millions of francs (2,720,000*l.*), all for the purchased creatures and the parasites of our new regime! All these figures were submitted to the committee on the budget. The committee finds it quite impossible to demand any further reductions. Yet, unwilling to accept the work of the Government all standing, they have actually taken into their heads (as a joke, it is assumed) to demand augmentations. Under the Parliamentary regime it was

the Government that demanded augmentation, and the deputies diminution. Under the new regime we are to be treated to the contrary course of action. These gentlemen insist on the restoration of several heads of expenditure cut off by the Council of State. What is more, they propose to confer pensions of 12,000 francs (480*l.*) per annum on all retiring ministers, and pensions of from 3000 to 4000 francs (120-160*l.*) upon all deputies who may have exercised legislative functions for twelve years. In other respects the mechanism of the imperial system works admirably. Not only it votes the budget in ten minutes, but what is better, on every question proposed you always find at the bottom of the ballot-urns the most perfect unanimity of approval. In fact, this Corps Législatif, to do it justice, is really a marvellous voting machine. The Government, too, for its own part, is in capital working order. It has just published a decree interdicting foreign refugees from entering France. Henceforward any Pole, or German, or Italian, or Spaniard, who, desiring to enjoy the dignity of his manhood, leaves his country in pursuit of freedom, must not enter France. Bonaparte has constituted himself the gendarme of European "order." As to the refugees who have for some time past been residing in Paris, the decree expels them purely and simply. So the noble wreck of the Polish emigration of 1832, the German and Italian emigration of 1848 and 1849, will be forced to quit Paris, and to go and hide themselves in some obscure village. Nevertheless, for all its gendarme duties the Government does not forget its "little affairs," its jobs and tripotages at the Bourse.

To send up the falling railway shares, it had spread the report that no fresh concession would be granted. But the Mastermans of London and of Paris gave Bonaparte twenty-five millions of francs (1,000,000*l.*), and ten millions to De Morny. Bonaparte immediately lost his memory, forgot all about the November decree, and authorized the concession of an impossible railway—across the mountains of Auvergne and the Cévennes—the line from Bordeaux to Lyons. It is just as if your House of Commons were to pass a Bill for a line across the highlands of Scotland. What did it matter to these gentlemen? Like the great Napoleon, they have expunged the word "impossible" from their dictionary. All they had to do was to touch the premiums on the pockets of the donkey tribe. In due time we shall find them proposing a line from Paris to the Moon! Bonaparte will concede it to them with the best grace imaginable, and fools will not be wanting to buy the shares at a premium. Another trifling concession, in which Bonaparte has fingered the small sum of six millions of francs (240,000*l.*), has just been arranged. This is the concern of 50,000 acres of land in Algeria, at Stéif, in the province of Constantina. The concession is made to a company, which receives by way of profit 20,000 acres for its own share; the remaining 30,000 are destined to agriculturists to be imported to the spot by the said company.

The quarrel of the clergy has just entered upon a new phase. The Pope has sent the French bishops an encyclical letter (*prononcez, circulaire*), couched in the usual oily, sanctimonious, and plastering style, in which he condemns the Archbishop of Paris and approves the journal *L'Univers*. This encyclical missive consists of four principal points. The first is devoted to a pompous eulogy on the French Episcopate; this is an exordium to gild the pill; the second exalts the zeal of the religious journalists, and enjoins the bishops to stir up that zeal rather than to repress it. The third point insists on the necessity of making education henceforth repose on a religious basis—that is to say, in plain language, to restrict all instruction to the Catechism, and to reject every other book.* The fourth point pronounces in favour of the suppression of all Greek and Latin authors in classical studies. Too Italian to say right out, roundly, frankly, and decidedly, that Homer is to make room for St. Basil, and Virgil for St. Thomas, (St. Anthony for Ovid?) the Pope contents himself with a sly proviso that the Greek and Latin authors must only be admitted after the objectionable Paganisms have been carefully expurgated. Now, I ask you, what is Homer without his *Olympus*? what is the *Odyssey* without Minerva? what is the *Æneid* without Venus and Juno? Meanwhile, the Encyclical has fallen like a stone upon the head of the Archbishop of Paris, who quietly bends his neck, and announces to the faithful—that is to us—*nous autres*—that he authorizes us to read *L'Univers*, and that he revoked the preceding interdict against that journal. The terms which the Pope employs to praise the *Univers* and the religious journals, are the most complete condemnation of the Gallican doctrines. "The religious journals (he says) are worthy of all praise, for

* This is the policy adopted, at a respectful distance, by Mr. Archdeacon Denison and his co-obstructives.—Ed

they consecrate their labours and their learning to the defence of the rights of the Holy See, and to combat the opinions (read, the Gallican doctrines) which are contrary to the authority of the Holy See." You may regard this encyclical letter as a death-stroke to the Gallican doctrines, and the definitive triumph of Ultramontanism in France.

For a little while.

The trial of the affair of the Foreign Correspondents began the day before yesterday (Tuesday). The sittings of the Court are almost secret, on account of the rough verses (*vers croustillants*), which I mentioned to you in a former letter, of a lampoon on the Empress. The police represented the public on this occasion. No advocate not concerned on the trials was allowed to enter the Court. The advocate of M. Coetlogon was ill; M. Ploque appeared for him. He defended his client against all imputations of any connexion with secret societies. "There is no proof at all of the fact," he exclaimed. There remains, then, against M. Coetlogon nothing but the affirmation of the Government Law Officers." M. Dufaure, sometime Minister of the Interior under Cavaignac and Bonaparte, now reduced to the simple functions of an advocate, defended M. Planhol. He exhibited in the defence extreme skill and address.

"THERE IS NO OTHER PROOF EXISTENT AGAINST M. PLANHOL (he said) THAN A LETTER; AND THAT LETTER WAS INTERCEPTED AT THE POST, AND READ BY THE POLICE, INSTEAD OF BEING FORWARDED TO ITS ADDRESS. THE QUESTION, THEN, IS THIS, WILL YOU, AS JUDGES, AS MEN OF HONOUR, BY YOUR SENTENCE IN THIS CASE, MAKE YOURSELVES ACCOMPLICES OF THE VIOLATION OF THE SECRECY OF LETTERS? Then protesting with great vehemence against the INFAMY OF SUCH A VIOLATION, AND DECLARING THAT IT WAS THE ACT OF NONE BUT THE VILEST GOVERNMENTS,* M. Dufaure cited several decrees of the old Parliaments, and several other more recent ones of the Court of Cassation, to prove that NO LEGAL PROCEEDINGS COULD BE FOUNDED ON THE VIOLATION OF THE SECRECY OF LETTERS." This speech of M. Dufaure was warmly applauded by the few advocates present in the Court. Rovigo was ill; nevertheless, he determined to present himself for trial. He defended himself against the charge of having written the scandalous *quatrain* against the Empress—saying that he was not the man to insult a woman: meanwhile, however, he took the opportunity of repeating the *quatrain* in question four times over, and commenting upon it—protesting at intervals that he was incapable of committing such an infamy. A great number of letters were read, and a mass of correspondence inserted in the *Nation* and the *Observateur*, Brussels journals. As these journals don't penetrate into France, and contain a heap of jokes and incidents of which the Parisian public is deprived (*servé*), it was the lust for such select reading that had attracted so many members of the Bar to the trial. Doctor Flaudin, the only Republican included in the indictment, appears with the rest only for the form. No charge lies against him. The trial still continues; and at the moment of writing I don't know the result. It is thought that the judges will acquit the accused, if not of all, of the greater number of the charges. The speech of M. Dufaure was too stinging not to affect the judges.

Blanqui and Cazavan, in prison at Belleisle, have made a fruitless attempt to escape. They are now caught again. It seems that on the evening of the 4th they dressed up two dummies in their own clothes, and placed them—the one representing Blanqui before

the fire, with his elbows on the table. The turnkey when he closed the cells in the evening saw the two dummies, and taking them for the prisoners, closed the doors upon them. During this time Blanqui and Cazavan were hidden in the *atelier*.

They descended through a trap-door into the court, and thence, by scaling two walls, they managed to get to the open country, ran to the shore, and there wandered about, in vain search of a boat to get away from the Island. As day began to break, they made away precipitately to a farm, and hid themselves in the barn; but the alarm was given. At five o'clock in the morning their hiding-place was discovered: all the troops and the gendarmes were on the alert; the two prisoners were soon discovered. Blanqui wounded himself severely in the leg: a fragment of a broken glass bottle, stuck on one of the walls he had to scale, drove into his foot. He was obliged to be transported to the court-house in a wagon.

We have news from Constantinople to the 31st ult. The Porte was temporizing, waiting the arrival of the English and French ambassadors. The Russian armaments continued still: all the troops of the interior of Russia are transported in steamers, by the Don and the Volga, to the Black Sea. The veterans have been recalled into active service. The French fleet has arrived at Salamis. The British fleet was still at anchor in Malta harbour on the 8th inst., with no signs of a move.

S.

CONTINENTAL NOTES.

We have little to notice of political movements on the Continent, but that little is portentous. First, from its obvious connexion with the most striking event of the week, at home. We present the reader with the following remarkable passage from the semi-official organ of the Germanic Diet, the *Frankfort Post Gazette*. The source from whence it was derived is Vienna: it is signally substantiated by the proceedings of our own Home Office.

"IT IS NOW CONFIRMED THAT THE PRUSSIAN POLICE WERE MOST EFFICIENTLY ASSISTED IN THE LATE POLITICAL ARRESTS AT BERLIN AND ELSEWHERE BY REPEATED COMMUNICATIONS FROM THE POLICE OF LONDON, WITHOUT WHICH MANY OF THEIR DISCOVERIES MIGHT NOT HAVE BEEN MADE. IN THIS WE SEE A PROOF OF THE GOOD FAITH OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT, WHEN, THROUGH LORD WESTMORELAND, IT ASSURED THE CABINET OF VIENNA THAT IT WOULD WATCH OVER THE CONDUCT OF THE REFUGEES. WE LEARN FROM OTHER SOURCES THAT THE LONDON POLICE HAS FOR SOME TIME KEPT LISTS OF ALL THE FUGITIVES RESIDING THERE, AND WATCHES OVER THEIR COMMUNICATIONS WITH THE CONTINENT."

It must be remembered, that when the Von Beck affair was brought to light, a statement was made which has never been contradicted, that under Lord John Russell's Government, a FOREIGN BRANCH OF THE ENGLISH POLICE FORCE was established. Have we not now more reason than ever for believing this statement?

The second point of interest in continental politics, is the probable re-establishment of despotism in Spain. The Opposition for some time past has waxed in strength, and taking advantage of a discussion on the railway administration of the last Cabinet, has exposed the unconstitutional proceedings of both Ministries. It is quite clear that jobbing has gone on in railway matters, and the Marquis d'Alduero de Concha openly designated the husband of Queen Christina as the "evil genius of the Government," through whose influence the shameful railway concessions to Senor Salamanca have been made. He declared what was affirmed with much more emphasis by General Prim in the other Chamber, that the Queen was no party to the attempts of either Ministry to govern without the concurrence of the Cortes; to silence the tribune, and gag the press; and so to screen the illegalities of her Ministers. They had placed themselves between the Sovereign and the country, in order to carry out their own personal and antinational schemes. Of course, General Roncali saw that all this was "contrary to the dignity of the Government," and, therefore, could not be true; and the Senate broke up in a state of great excitement, without coming to any vote. General Prim, in the Chamber of Deputies, spoke with much more emphasis:—

"There," he said, "was Bravo Murillo, a man who had broken fourscore laws while in office, and yet he went up and down the kingdom, came and went just as he pleased, as if nothing had happened. However coolly that examiner might be disposed to take it, a few days would show whether or not a guilty minister was to go unpunished. The mutilation of the constitution proposed under the name of reform was bad enough, but that was only a threatened evil. There was something worse, which was at the same time actual and present; it was the anarchy caused by the pretence of governing by a constitution the most important prescriptions of which were neglected at pleasure. Spain was not dead, whatever Ministers in their blindness might suppose: there was still blood and heart in the nation. Spaniards had not fought to maintain one Bourbon prince against another, but to seat the constitutional Isabella II. on the throne to the entire exclusion of absolutism." These debates, which occupied both houses on the 8th, were resumed on the 7th, and were proceeding with increased warmth when the post left on that day.

On the 8th inst. a Royal Decree superseded the sittings

of the Cortes: but on the 9th, General Roncali, finding himself not strong enough for the occasion, tendered his resignation to the Queen, which was accepted within twenty-four hours. The latest accounts state that General Lerundi, Captain-General of Madrid, has been called upon to form a Government, and the Cortes has resumed its sittings.

Public spirit in Germany does not seem to be quite extinguished by the presence of absolutism. As we know, the constitution of Hesse Cassel was abolished by the intervention of the Germanic Diet. The constitution was remodelled by the elector. On the 6th inst., the Diet, as newly formed, met and proceeded at once to discuss the political relations of the state. By a very large majority it was declared that the Germanic Diet, although entitled to call for the modification of special points, had not the right to abolish the old constitution of Hesse Cassel, and that this was still the fundamental law of the state. The decision took the government by surprise.

The Prussian Chambers, too, have shown a spark of life. In the second chamber the government proposed a bill on the organization of urban communes, and in the preamble stated that his Majesty ordained thus and thus, "having consulted the provincial diets." These ancient local legislatures, narrow in their constitution, spirit, and powers, are in great favour with the squirearchy of the kingdom, and are equally disliked by all constitutionalists, as it is well understood that their chief use is to be played off against the popular chamber. On the 11th the preamble was debated, when M. Vincke, leader of the Left, in concert with M. Bethman-Hollweg, leader of the moderate conservatives, condemned the recognition of provincial diets as bodies of the state. Notwithstanding the strenuous opposition of the government, the house resolved upon striking out the obnoxious words, and the bill, if it pass, will be simply the work of the King and the constitutional chambers.

Last Saturday the young Duke of Brabant, heir to the Belgian throne, came of age (18), and was duly installed as a member of the Senate. The event was duly celebrated: the interior of the hall was decorated with the national colours, and crowded with ladies, representatives, and Foreign Ministers. When the Duke had taken the seat prepared for him, he was addressed by the Prince de Ligne, who, with an obvious allusion to the Emperor of the French, reminded the future successor of Leopold I. of the patriotic services and enlightened conduct of that monarch, "the faithful observer of sworn faith."

He then took the oath, and made a very suitable reply, in which he congratulated himself on having entered on his Parliamentary life, where he might be able to acquire experience in public affairs, and expressed himself in the strongest terms on the independence and future welfare of the country.

At a banquet given by the Chamber of Deputies to King Leopold, His Majesty spoke with a noble modesty of his son's capabilities, and pointed out very emphatically that the only way they could preserve the independence they had so gallantly won was by steadily working together.

Count Revel, the Sardinian Minister, as announced by our Paris correspondent, last week, has quitted Vienna *en congé*.

The official journal of Turin protests on behalf of the Piedmontese Government against an article of the *Journal des Débats*, in which it was stated that the Sardinian Cabinet was ready to deliver up to Austria, under certain conditions, the refugees against whom proofs of complicity in the late insurrection at Milan could be brought.

The 41st, 47th, and 49th Regiments have arrived at Malta, to relieve the 70th Regiment, and reinforce the garrison of that island.

On the 2nd inst. the good Prince Ghika entered his capital amidst the cheers of its inhabitants, and resumed the government of Moldavia.

The French Emperor has made Rossini a Commander, and Ponzard, the poet, an Officer, of the Legion of Honour.

INDIAN JUDGES.

THE arrival of the Overland Mail brings interesting news from Bombay. Lord Falkland has suspended two judges.

It appears that a Mr. Luard was a judge in Surat. In 1845 a case came before him, in the trial of which, it is stated, he exhibited intemperance and partisanship, and gave a wrong decision. His conduct was investigated before the Sudder Court—the Company's highest court of judicature in India. That court reversed his decision, and removed him from the bench, giving him, however, an equivalent revenue appointment. Ever since, the dismissed judge has continued to assail the Sudder Court through the columns of the *Bombay Gazette*, his attacks being unceasing and unsparing. The Sudder judges appealed to Government to protect them against this persecution; demanded that the scandals alleged should be thoroughly investigated; that Mr. Luard (to whom the authorship of the articles had been clearly traced) should be called on to prove his charges; and that the *Gazette* should be prosecuted. The Government refused to interfere, and Mr. Luard continued the newspaper abuse. Lately, he added to its intensity the piquancy of direct personal slander. He singled out two of the Sudder judges by name. He stated that Judge Grant and Judge Le Geyt were both notoriously involved in debt; that Mr. Grant "kept a mistress," and was in the habit of gambling for large sums at his club; and that Mr. Le Geyt had made a fictitious transfer of his liabilities previous to deciding

* According to M. Dufaure, then, the British Liberal-Conservative Cabinet, including Lord Palmerston and Sir William Molesworth, is one of "the vilest Governments." Even in France there is still enough of public spirit left to stigmatize these odious abuses of *espionage*—a word once declared by Lord Palmerston himself to have no representative in the English language. Such are the benefits of a Coalition Cabinet. What a pure Tory Government would never dare to attempt, exposed to the constitutional jealousy of a Liberal opposition, this confusion of Conservatives of one idea, who have not the courage or the honesty to be Tories, with parliamentary and philosophical Radicals, duly caught and tamed by Downing-street and the Palace, stealthily accomplishes with professions of liberty and patriotism on its lips. Like Don Juan behind the cloak of Leporello, Lord Palmerston, the debonair revolutionist, *par son excellence*, who betrayed Poland, Hungary, Italy, and Sicily, one after the other, panders to Absolutism behind the cloak of his own past bad reputation (in Austria) for fashionable incendiarism. And Lord Aberdeen, with his Peelite nondescripts, does what the cloak of a couple of domesticated Radicals. Lord John, in the memorable Pacifico debate, said, "Lord Palmerston is neither a French nor an Austrian Minister, but an English Minister." So it is the characteristic of "English Ministers" to open letters and employ spies! The fact is, our present Ministers have neither the bad courage to be thoroughly Austrian, nor the dignity to be thoroughly English.—*Ed. Leader*.

a suit in which one of his creditors was concerned. Charges of this kind had been frequently made against the judges in the local press, which, in India, is remarkable for license and personal attacks, but they had been almost invariably disregarded. It surprised every one, therefore, when Lord Falkland took up the offensive articles in the *Gazette*, and called upon Messrs. Grant and Le Geyt for a public denial on oath of each of the misdemeanours imputed. In reply, both the judges admitted the fact of being in debt; but they had been so long before they were appointed to the bench, and their liabilities had been honourably incurred—Mr. Grant's in becoming answerable for the debts of a brother; and Mr. Le Geyt's in assisting his father. They added, that their debts had in nowise interfered with their judicial duties, and that they were now in course of liquidation. Mr. Le Geyt emphatically denied that the transfer of his liabilities had been fictitious; but it appeared that though the decision of the Court had been in favour of the native gentleman who had been his creditor, Mr. Le Geyt's individual judgment had been recorded against him. Mr. Grant admitted that he "kept a mistress." He had also occasionally, though very rarely, played for money at the club. He submitted, however, that these were "private matters" which could in nowise affect the discharge of his public duties. These answers were submitted for opinion to the Advocate-General, who stated they were not sufficient to afford grounds for the granting of "a criminal information." On this, Lord Falkland removed both judges from the bench.

In Bombay, the matter has excited much sensation, and provoked much discussion. Some urge that "a judge with mud on his robes" cannot retain the proper respect of the people, and that the repeated revilings of the *Gazette* had stained the Court. But others point to the continual disregard by Government of all former Press attacks; to its frequent refusals to prosecute the newspapers even for the grossest libels. If the word of the *Gazette* is to have weight against judges, it is argued that its attacks on the Governor himself should have equal weight.

Lord Falkland has been constantly attacked by the *Gazette*, and often in very plain terms; and has, moreover, been charged by other of the local prints, and in still coarser language, with habitual inebriety. But an ugly aspect is given to this authoritative proceeding by the imputation to Lord Falkland of personal spite against the dismissed judges. One of them was the adviser and intimate friend both of Mr. Pollard Wilmoughby and Colonel Outram in their differences with the Governor, and it has been frequently remarked that in the promotion to staff appointments or other advancements, Lord Falkland has uniformly passed over the friends of Colonel Outram. Meanwhile, Mr. Luard, the originator of the disturbance, has printed a letter with his name attached, containing a most sweeping indictment against several other judges. He promises, if the opportunity of an investigation is afforded him, "so to blacken the faces of all the judges except Mr. Hutt, who were on the Sadler bench in 1845, and to astonish the world at the extent to which Indian infamy has been carried." "So that if there is one atom of truth in these charges (says the *Bombay Times*) the Company's Supreme Court must for the past ten years have been a den of corruption. If there is not, Government retains in places of great responsibility and emolument civil servants, whose delight it is to slander the oldest of their brethren, and do their best to bring the body to which they belong, and the masters they serve, into contempt."

If these incidents be samples of the Company's affairs, the English investigation of the whole mass of Indian society will be almost as difficult and disagreeable as an Election Inquest.

THE BURMESE WAR.

THE details of the late movements of our Indian army clearly expose the general incompetency of many of the leading men, brought out the more in relief by the apt ability of some secondary lieutenants. The Donabaw disaster is now found more serious than was supposed. The killed, wounded, or missing, amount to one hundred. Painful reports are current connected with this event; of dissensions between the naval and military commanders; of the leaders' utter ignorance of the strength or position of the enemy; of the want of a plan of operation, and the total absence of all military precaution. Commodore Lambert, the senior naval officer, stung by his frequent repulses by Mealoon the robber chief, is obstinate in refusing to retire, and has applied to the Governor-General for troops, which he is not likely to get, the military authorities having already refused to give him aid in carrying out his operations *en revanche*. A thousand rupees have been offered for the crafty robber's head, "which," say the local critics, "if it could only be placed on the shoulders

of the British Commander would be cheap at the money." In Bassin Province Captain Fytche (assisted by Captain Reunie and eighty blue jackets) had cleared the province. Major Hawes refused to assist him, and now seeing the result of the operations, and fearing the censure of the Governor-General, has committed suicide to avoid a court-martial! General Steel's column advancing had entered Hogggy, the handsomest Burmese town yet seen by the English. The stockades found here were very formidable, and the generally well-defended state of the country intimate that had not the revolution at Ava taken place the British force would have had to make a tedious fight—the deficiencies of their commanders both in preparation and action making the probable result of a campaign very doubtful. Complete intelligence of the timely change of kings at Ava had not yet arrived at the British outposts, but an envoy from the victorious Prince Meng-door, was expected in a few days. General Godwin still remains inactive at Promé. Much surprise is expressed that the Governor-General has not ordered an immediate advance on Ava, now that there is no enemy in the way; the force at Promé being all on a marching establishment, such an advance would in nowise add to the expenses of the war, and as regards the prestige of our arms in Eastern Asia, it is considered that the enemy's capital is the only place to sign a treaty of peace.

AN AMERICAN COUP D'ETAT.

SAN JUAN DE NICARAGUA, or Greytown, is the Atlantic seaport of the Isthmus of Nicaragua. The people of the town have had the Government in their own hands, administered under the forms of a constitution, and since May, 1852, recognised as independent by England and the United States. Not long since some energetic Americans established in the town the United States Transit Company, for conducting the traffic across the Isthmus: and obtained from the local authorities the lease of certain lands necessary for their operations. The "pushing" activity of the United States traders soon succeeded in obtaining a practical monopoly of the carrying trade of the country: and this seems to have provoked the jealousy of the people of Greytown. At any rate, the Government of the town came lately into new hands, and "the new ruler knowing not" the Company, refused, according to the American account, to ratify certain agreements arranged between the Company and the former authorities. A dispute arose. The Government alleging that the term of the old agreement had expired, accused the Company of illegal occupancy of certain lands, and gave a peremptory notice to quit. The Yankees, not easily awed, refused to give up what they claimed as a right. The Government followed up their commands by force; they issued a legal process, and backed it by a body of local constables, who proceeded to the works of the Transit Company, and commenced to pull down their out-buildings. The Americans resisted, and soon turned the tables. An United States sloop-of-war, the *Cyane*, was in the harbour; the Company appealed to the captain, who readily despatched a body of marines to the spot. This settled the matter. The authorities desisted and retired to consult. After a brief consultation they surrendered the government of the city into the hands of Captain Hollins, the captain of the *Cyane*, but protesting against the invasion, and formally furnishing each of the foreign consuls with a copy of the protest. The protest appears in the New York papers. It is made in name of the mayor, the president of the council, the chief justice of the Supreme Court, and the captain of the port. It states the independent rights of "Greytown, or San Juan del Norte," its recognition by England, and by the United States itself; avers that the ejection of the Transit Company from lands illegally occupied was done according to due forms of law, complains that the intervention by the armed force from the sloop was made without notice; and thus concludes:—

"Therefore the undersigned, in view of the condition of affairs heretofore mentioned, and being unable to repel force by force, now, and by this their act, solemnly protest before the civilized world against this unlawful occupancy of their territory and the subversion of their laws. They therefore submit as a conquered people, and surrender to Captain George N. Hollins, of the United States ship of war *Cyane*, the government, the city, and the offices which they have held respectively; and on him rests the responsibility for any losses or damage the city or its inhabitants may sustain in the absence of lawful authority for the protection of persons and property."

A meeting was afterwards held, at which this surrender was confirmed by popular consent—all blame and responsibility being placed on the shoulders of the American captain. Some citizens, however, had formed themselves into a committee of vigilance and safety; and (says a private letter in the *New York Tribune*) "we may expect some summary punishments"—of whom is not stated. At the latest dates, the flag of

the United States floated over the town, the Nicaraguan ensign having been hauled down; and Captain Hollins, of the United States navy, was undisputed dictator of Greytown; while fast-sailing boats were cutting their way to the West Indies, conveying the news of the *coup d'état* to the British Admiral of the West India squadron, stationed at Jamaica, and to Blewfield, where the British Consul-General resides.

The circumstances of the case are not completely told in the American papers. The dispute between the Company and the local Government had lasted for some time, and had been referred to the United States commercial agent. He, it is stated, finally acceded to the views of the authorities, and an ejection was to have been put in force on the 12th. But the arrival of the sloop of war on the 10th altered the situation of affairs. The question was laid before him, and he at once proclaimed his resolution to protect the buildings and property of the Transit Company, having been so instructed by the United States Government. The affair is regarded by some but as a rough and ready display of United States naval power, and not any permanent interference with the independence of the town,—in short, an American edition of Lord Palmerston's "work on Greece" with the difference, that the Americans are protecting their own citizens in a very legitimate commerce, while neither English patriotism nor English commerce were involved in the compensation for Don Pacifico's household furniture.

INDEPENDENCE OF TURKEY.

THE Mayor of Newcastle-upon-Tyne has received the following communication in reply to the memorial adopted at a meeting held in that town, on the 29th of March, on the Turkish question:—

"To the Mayor of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

"SIR,—I have had the honour of receiving an address, signed by you on behalf of a meeting of the inhabitants of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

"I am happy to find that this meeting concurs with me in opinion that 'this country ought to be anxious to maintain the independence of Turkey.'

"That independence could not be subverted without a great change in the territorial circumscription of Europe, a derangement of the distribution of power sanctioned by treaties, and more especially a violation of the engagements contracted by the great powers in 1841.

"That independence could not be subverted without a danger of the aggrandizement of states already sufficiently formidable, and a disturbance of the balance of power in Europe.

"That independence could not be subverted without a great diminution of British commerce, now fostered by the moderate tariff of the Turkish Empire.

"You may rely upon the constant vigilance of her Majesty's Government being employed to prevent such misfortunes; upon the sense of justice and good faith which animates the principal states of Europe; and upon the weight of the British Parliament, which will be ever ready to defend the rights and the independence of her Majesty's allies.

"I beg you to thank the inhabitants of Newcastle in my name for the distinguished honour they have done me, and remain, sir, with great respect,

"Your obedient servant, J. RUSSELL.

"Chesham-place, April 11, 1853."

CHANCES OF LONDON CORPORATION REFORM.

THE London Court of Aldermen have given an account of themselves. The occasion was the discussion of a motion brought forward by Alderman Wilson, referring to a committee the question of reform, and advising a conference with her Majesty's Ministers. The mover complained that the Commission already announced was what might have been expected; he had always told them so; but he could not get the Court to act. Now, they had to consider that some wished the Court of Aldermen to be abolished: the committee of the Common Council who would supply evidence to the Commission were by no means friendly to the Aldermen. Their only course was to supply the Commission with full information. If his advice had been taken, this would have been done long ago; "industrious malignity" would have been disappointed, and the independence, integrity, and blameless conduct of the body would have been established. Fired by this praise of the body, Alderman Thompson became independent. Why should they curry favour with any Ministry? There was no necessity of conferring with them. The Court was conscious of its rectitude. On this hint followed a chorus of congratulations, every member of the Court praising all the rest, and a general hymn of praise echoing all round. Alderman Farbrother pointed out a touching circumstance: the Aldermen, who discharged arduous duties purely for patriotic motives, were unpaid. Sir Peter Laurie, of course ignoring the newspapers, denied there was "any charge" against the Court of Aldermen; nor was there a ground for any charge. "The noise about the coals was at an end." Alderman Wire exposed many of the virtues of the Aldermen. The former municipal inquiry had found

then pure, and left them so; their City magistrates had been complimented by the Judges of the land; their election for life was, like the permanence of the said Judges, an advantage to the community; and many of them ("he was far from saying he was himself one") were rich men.

"Of what did their enemies complain? Was it of the administration of justice by the civic bench? What did her Majesty's judges say of the City magistrates? Those dignitaries of the law invariably spoke of their conduct in terms of the warmest approbation. Was it with the management of the funds over which they had control that fault was found? The aldermen never touched the funds except for magisterial or charitable purposes. Was objection taken to the intellectual character of the court? Why, he would not hesitate to say that they would not fail in the comparison with any twenty-six men who were to be seen issuing at the same time through the doorway of the House of Commons. Was it argued that they did not represent the wealth of the City? That, too, was founded in error. It was well known that several members, of whom he was far from saying he was himself one, could bear comparison as to opulence with a similar number in any large assembly. He had heard it stated as a fault that the City magistrates were, as all other magistrates were and ought to be, elected for life. It was considered the distinguishing act of George III.'s reign that the judges became by law independent, and surely there could be no excuse for abandoning a principle which had received the sanction of the Legislature, and which had so long operated to the advantage of the community. (Cheers.)"

After this list of virtues the Alderman, mid great applause, detailed several city improvements. And, finally, expressed his belief that the Ministers meant, by the new inquiry, good, and not evil, towards the corporation. But, despite their assent to the spirited speech of their brother dignitary, the Court decided that they would not confer with her Majesty's Ministers.

The Court of Common Council met, on Thursday, and unanimously adopted the following resolution:—

"That the Lord Mayor or Recorder be requested to state to her Majesty's Government, that the corporation of London, in the event of the appointment by her Majesty of a commission of inquiry respecting the corporation of London, will afford every facility, and all the information in their power upon the subject. (Cheers.)"

HAPPIER HOMES FOR THE POOR.

"THE back slums of Westminster," figured as taunting illustrations in some of the polemical publications of the Papal Aggression period. Means are being taken to remove this obvious occasion of reproach. A new model lodging-house has been built in New-street, Broad-street, Golden-square. Wretched hovels, once occupied by thieves, abandoned characters, cows, and pigs, have been cleared away; the cattle and swine have been sent to more suitable quarters,—where the human occupants have gone is unrecorded. On the site of the old hovels a large, plain, substantial building is to be erected. It will be divided into sixty-eight compartments, each being a complete little residence in itself, consisting of three rooms, with closets and other conveniences attached. The rooms can be let at more moderate rents than are now paid by the poor for most miserable and unwholesome accommodation. The General Society for Improving the Dwellings of the Working Classes are the undertakers of the work.

The foundation stone of the building was laid on Tuesday, and the opportunity was taken of an agreeable demonstration of mutual interest in the work, both by the poor in the neighbourhood and by some of the wealthiest of the aristocracy connected with the Court. The Duke of Cambridge, the Duchess of Sutherland, Lady Blantyre, Lord Talbot, Lord Ingestre, and others were present; and were welcomed by crowds of working people who had assembled. The Royal Duke went through the customary form of "laying the stone." Lord Ingestre read an address on behalf of the society, whose general progress was thus described:—"In the place of dilapidated hovels, highly rented, buildings are fast rising where the working man will obtain three rooms at the rate which is now paid for one wretched apartment, and that, too, at a rent which will compensate for the outlay." After some cordial expressions of interest from the duke, the proceedings of the morning ended.

In the evening the inevitable "dinner" took place. The Duke of Argyll, Lords Talbot, Jernyn, Dufferin, Nelson, Grosvenor, Ingestre, Dynevor, Sheffield, Hervey, Evelyn, and Annesley, were present representing the peerage; in the Commons there appeared Sir John Pakington, Sir J. Shelley, Right Hon. W. Cowper, and others. Lord R. Grosvenor and Mr. Disraeli had accepted invitations but were unable to be present. The Duke of Argyll presided.

In proposing "The Army and Navy," he hinted that "the plan of their model lodging-house had originated in the barracks at Knightsbridge." Sir John Pakington proposed "The Patrons of the Society," and warmly lauded the Duke of Cambridge and his "young friend

Lord Ingestre." The Rev. F. Byng returned thanks for the patrons, and stated that the site of the new building had been one of the worst localities in the metropolis. Mr. Denison, speaking for the House of Commons, hoped that each day the rich would still more investigate the condition of the poor.

The Duke of Argyll, in proposing "Success to the Society," referred to the general condition of the progress of this country. The question was, what was to be done with the great cities?

"No nation, except, perhaps, the United States, had made such rapid progress of late years as the United Kingdom, but it was remarkable that nearly all this progress was in the cities, while the rural districts stood still, and, in some instances, retrograded. Glasgow, since the commencement of the century, had increased in population from 50,000 to 320,000, and so it was all over the empire. Villages had become towns, towns had become cities, and cities had swelled beyond all bounds of anticipated probability. Can we say that we are overtaking this vast increase with a proportionate amount of moral and religious instruction? In an ingenious atlas lately constructed, that part of the world blessed by Christianity was marked by a peculiar colour. It was melancholy to see what a small proportion it bore to the whole; but it is still more melancholy to reflect that a map similarly constructed would show fearful voids even in our own great cities. The state of a great proportion of our population was more deplorable than the heathendom of Africa. Our cities demand more of the missionary spirit than might be required under the palms of India. But still there is a bright side to the picture. A lady of his acquaintance had told him that in her young days the condition of the poor never formed a topic of conversation with the higher classes, but that was no longer the case, as not only did they seriously consider the condition of the poor, but also made strenuous exertions in their behalf. Such exertions had never such prospect of success as at present, because we had got hold of the right principle, and had ascertained the inseparable connexion there existed between the physical and moral condition of the people. We had discovered it first in our treatment of the insane, in which we had learned much from the continent of Europe, and it was now, he was happy to say, the principle upon which we acted in all our exertions to ameliorate the condition of the poor." Having read from the prospectus the rules of the society, the Duke proceeded to say that their plan contemplated partly the erection of new, and partly the adaptation of old buildings, and that in the parent society presided over by Prince Albert that plan had produced a profit of from 4½ to 5 per cent. This advantage had been secured in addition to an enormous saving in the rentals of the poor; and therefore he trusted that such societies would spread, and be taken up by speculators solely on commercial principles. It was a great economic law that nothing could be permanently successful that was not self-supporting, but once prove that a fair return for outlay might be expected, and all other difficulties in the way of a project would rapidly disappear. Their society was founded on this principle, but if it should turn out successful, it would achieve the great moral result of giving to all classes the blessing of a decent Christian home. (Cheers.)"

In returning thanks for his own health being drank, Lord Ingestre attributed the first idea of these buildings to Lord Shaftesbury, and said, "It is of no use for the clergy to preach or build churches until the people have first decent and Christian homes to live in."

Some gratifying facts connected with the Society came out in the course of the evening. The solicitor, the architect, and the secretaries of the Society give their time and work gratuitously. The money collected at the dinner amounted to 800l. The new building will cost 10,000l. and be ready in September.

MR. FEARGUS O'CONNOR.

THE state of mind of Mr. Feargus O'Connor has been investigated. On Tuesday, Mr. Barlow, a Commissioner of Lunacy, and a jury of Middlesex freeholders, held the inquiry at Chiswick. Mr. O'Connor is staying at present at Dr. Tuke's lunatic asylum, Manor-house, Turnham-green. The remnant of Mr. O'Connor's property amounts to 1300l. or 1400l., and this, husbanded with care, might be so disposed as to provide him with necessary comforts for the remainder of his days. With this object the inquiry was instituted.

The first witness was Mr. Ernest Jones, who had been for some time one of Mr. O'Connor's political associates, and had also known him intimately as a private friend. Mr. Jones first noticed signs of insanity in Mr. O'Connor's writings in 1848; previous to that he considered his mind to be of "the most vigorous character," but at that period he noticed an inconsistency in his political writings. The witness seemed to lay stress on this as a token of the mind giving way. "One week he" (Mr. O'Connor) "would recommend a particular course of action on some political question, and the next week, writing on the same subject, he would lay down totally different rules for the guidance of his readers." In '49, still more marked signs of insanity appeared in Mr. O'Connor's personal demeanour. He had been on visiting terms with Mr. Jones's family, and his manner and conversation in their presence were always decent and appropriate. But in the beginning of '49 his conduct in society became free and indelicate, to such extent that neither Mrs. Jones nor the children

could stay in the room, and on Mr. O'Connor's continued visits, they were obliged to remain in privacy. About this time, he was also in the habit of interpolating his political speeches with indelicate anecdotes. At Halifax he spoke of the Queen in a manner proving him to be insane; and he frequently diverged from political topics to make a violent personal harangue, recounting to the public audience "the number of honourable members whom he had knocked down in the House of Commons." In his private interviews with Mr. Jones he would sometimes burst into a fit of tears, without the smallest perceptible reason; talk unconnectedly of the ingratitude he had experienced; put his hand to his head, crying, "Oh! my head!" and again, "roar like a wild animal for an hour at a stretch."

Mr. Dougal McGowan, who for many years had business dealings with Mr. O'Connor, spoke to the failure of his memory in 1851, and the extravagance of his conduct before the Master in Chancery, when he threatened at least twenty times to throw books at the head of the Master. He had seen Mr. O'Connor on Sunday, and found him in a perfectly idiotic state.

Mr. Jacob Bell, late M.P. for St. Albans, was examined. On Mr. Bell's entrance to the House, Mr. O'Connor's manner to him was excessively free and familiar, but Mr. Bell passed over this, thinking it an Irish singularity, and believing Mr. O'Connor to be "a good sort of fellow." His general conduct in the House, however, was too strange to be thus accounted for. On entering the House he would shake hands with every member who would allow him, from the bar to the Treasury bench, calling each a "jolly good fellow," and generally seating himself among the leaders of the Opposition, facing the Prime Minister. On one particular occasion, when the House was in a state of intense excitement, awaiting the explanation of Lord Palmerston as to the grounds on which he had left the Ministry, the noble viscount rising to speak, Mr. O'Connor, who was sitting behind him, rose also, and patted him on the back in a manner which had the most ludicrous effect on the House. His usual manner of addressing Mr. Bell was—"You are a capital fellow, Bell. I love you."

Dr. Tweedie testified that Mr. O'Connor was of unsound mind, suffering under what was termed "moral insanity." Dr. Connolly confirmed this testimony.

At an early part of the inquiry the Commissioner inquired whether Mr. O'Connor could, with safety to himself and the jury, be present at the inquiry. Dr. Tuke, the physician in charge of the asylum, said he feared not. It was, therefore, agreed upon, that the Commissioner and the jury should visit the patient at the asylum. After hearing the above evidence they proceeded to the Manor House. The morning was fine and the interview took place in the garden, where the Jury assembled on a green sward at the back of the asylum. Presently a shrill voice in joyous tones echoed through the passage, and Mr. O'Connor appeared. He looked at the group, and then fixing his eyes on Mr. Ernest Jones, he advanced to him, and, grasping his hand warmly, said, "Here's Jones, I love him! I idolise him! I defy him! I adore him!" The next moment, observing his former solicitor, Mr. Turner, he grasped his hand and called out loudly, "And here's Turner! I idolise him! He is the best solicitor that ever lived! He is a capital fellow, is that Turner?" Mr. Bell was next noticed. The moment Mr. O'Connor caught sight of him he exclaimed, "And here's Bell! I love him! I idolise him! I defy him! What a handsome fellow he is! What beautiful eyes he has! beautiful nose! beautiful mouth! beautiful lips! beautiful teeth! beautiful ears! beautiful arms! beautiful legs! beautiful feet!" and so on, with a rapidity of utterance painfully mindless and incoherent. Mr. Pownall endeavoured to attract his mind to a rational question, asking him of what his property consisted; all he could obtain in reply was, that he had two newspapers. The conversation having ceased for a moment, Mr. O'Connor drew himself up, and, striking both hands upon his thighs to mark the metre of his verse, recited with great rapidity some verses once popular among his followers. The following lines were part of the chant:—

"The lion of freedom is come from his den;
We'll rally around him again and again;
We'll crown him with laurel our champion to be—
O'Connor, the patriot for sweet liberty.
"Who strove for the patriots—was up night and day?
Who sav'd them from falling to tyrants a prey?
'Twas Feargus O'Connor was diligent then;
We'll rally around him again and again."

In reciting these lines Mr. O'Connor became excited, using violent gesticulations, reminding one of his former vehemence in addressing the mob. A word from Dr. Tuke, however, quieted him instantly, and he replied, "I won't say another word, Doctor." As the learned Commissioner and jury passed out, Mr. O'Connor appeared anxious to accompany them, but another

whisper induced him to return, and he stood on the doorway, as the company departed, exclaiming to each as he passed, "What a handsome fellow you are! What a handsome fellow you are!"

Dr. Tuke states that Mr. O'Connor plays at cricket and whist with considerable skill. He invariably asks Dr. Tuke to take him to town each morning, and is always satisfied with the doctor's promise to do so next day if he is better.

On the return of the jury from the asylum, Dr. Tuke was examined as a matter of form, and confirmed the opinion of the other physicians. Mr. O'Connor was not usually so excited as he had been that morning: the crowd of strangers had disturbed him. He was better sometimes than others, but he had never a strictly lucid interval. The Jury then found the verdict, "That Mr. Feargus O'Connor was of unsound mind and incapable of managing his affairs," dating the lunacy from the 10th of June, 1852—the day on which he was committed to the custody of the Sergeant-at-Arms.

OPINIONS OF THE LONDON UNION ON CHURCH MATTERS.

THIS Union, as our readers know, holds a monthly meeting, and reports on the passing topics of the day. From the last report we extract the two following sections: first, on

DIVORCE.

"A question remains, and that of the gravest importance—the question of divorce. The Union is aware that a Royal commission has reported in favour of such a change of the law as would give the husband a legal remedy by entire dissolution of the marriage in the case of adultery on the part of the wife.

"Your committee abstains from entering into the theological question how far this change is warranted by the New Testament; it will merely remark that the practice of the Church of England appears to favour the opinion that marriage once duly contracted is indissoluble, and that such, apart from the action of exceptional laws made to meet particular cases, is the state of the law at present.

"But without dwelling upon topics the treatment of which the Union has disclaimed, it may be observed that it is very unlikely that a remedy once given to the husband will be long denied to the wife, and against this concession the reasons stated by the commissioners are very cogent. It may be added, that the tribunal of three judges proposed by the commissioners cannot bring the remedy home to the poor man because of the expense, and that some other tribunal will before long be proposed, with perhaps an appeal to these three judges. It seems to stand against reason and common sense that a remedy given to the husband should not be given also to the wife, and that what is given freely to the rich should not also be granted to the poor. It may reasonably, therefore, be expected that the proposal now made is not the ultimate form the measure must take, but that if we once open the door, it will let in much more than any one now intends. No one can adequately contemplate the evils of the measure in aggravating family disagreements which would otherwise heal of themselves, in the bad example to children, the absence of care for them, and the general relaxation of morals. Your committee is strongly impressed with the opinion that it would be better to adopt the conclusion of an able paper of Lord Redesdale's, that the sound policy is to refuse all divorce bills for the future, and to permit nothing but separations, such as the ecclesiastical courts at present decree."

The second is on the new

EDUCATIONAL SCHEME.

"Your committee cannot conclude without an allusion to the Government measures for the promotion of general education which have been announced in the House of Commons by the ministerial leader. The Bill itself has been so recently printed, that your committee has had no opportunity of considering it; and therefore its allusion to it on the present occasion must be brief. It congratulates the Union upon the explicit acknowledgment which Lord John Russell makes of the utter futility of the so-called 'secular' system of education, and upon his equally explicit admission that, under the actual condition of England, the only method in which the State could reasonably bear its part in national education is by the impartial assistance of the educational efforts of the various religious communities, according to their respective forms of belief. Provided such assistance be really impartial, and not accorded with the view to introduce undue control, the Church need not fear to accept it upon such terms, relying on the excellence of her doctrine and of her divine constitution to win her way to the affections of the people, if she be but true to herself."

"TWO RICHARDS IN THE FIELD."

WE find the following amusing letter in the *Times*—

Sir,—Will you allow me the opportunity of stating that the "furniture" and "costly effects" advertised for sale by Mr. Rowcliffe, at the Sheriff's Auction Rooms, Watling-street, to-morrow, and announced as "removed from Westbourne-terrace, and Lincoln's-inn, the property of Charles Matthews, Esq." are not mine? The sale has no reference of any kind to me or any one connected with me. The man in the farce says, "Richard! your name can't be Richard. Why, my name's Richard!" But in this case it is evident there must be "two Richards in the field."

I have no objection to being "used up" as often as need be. I will even confess to being sometimes "hard up." But I have a most decided objection to being "sold up." I

do not live in Westbourne-terrace, but at Old Brompton; and, though a pretty frequent visitor to Lincoln's-inn, I have not yet thought it worth while to establish an office there; while the only "effects" I wish to dispose of (and very "costly" ones they have proved to me), I fear would realise but little in an auction-room—I mean the "effects" in my late Easter piece, which the public would not bid for at any price. These, and the "effects" of its failure, I shall be glad to get rid of as speedily as possible, and will feel much obliged to any one who will take them off my hands.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,
C. J. MATHEWS."

Lyceum, April 14.

PARENTAL DEPRAVITY.

THOMAS SHEA, a lad nine years of age, whose head scarcely rose above the dock, and who with another boy of the same age was brought up at the Thames Police Office last week for a similar offence, was charged with stealing a brass bar from the shop window of Mr. Crouch, High-street, Shadwell. When last brought up, Mr. Yardley, who seemed shocked at seeing such a case, gave the lad, who then assumed another name, up to his parents, saying he could not think of sending mere infants to prison. The case exhibited a revolting instance of parental depravity. The bar in question appeared to be a part of the booty for which the prisoner and his young companion had been previously tried. It appears that after the boy was discharged, his father, an Irish labourer, living at 3, Vine-passage, Ratcliffe, went with him to demand a brass bar which had been stopped by a marine store-dealer, named Griffiths, and after some altercation the lad was again given into custody.

Mr. Yardley asked why the father was not given into custody also; and on being told he was in court, ordered him to be put in the dock.

The fellow, with a low, whining, snuffling brogue, said he knew nothing of the affair until after his son was discharged from custody, and then he gave him a good caning.

Boy: My father knew nothing of it.

Mr. Yardley: You are a liar, and it is clear how you have been brought up. As to your father, I know no punishment that would be sufficiently severe for him. He is a most degraded wretch to rear up his own offspring as he has been rearing you. My observations on the former occasion were too favourable, as I considered you erred from not knowing better. Had I known what I know now, I should have said offenders of this sort are made thieves by their parents.

Father: I do my best to—

Mr. Yardley: Be silent. I let you take him home on the promise that you would endeavour to reclaim him, but instead of that you seek to participate in the plunder. Had he become chargeable to the parish you would have been sent home to your own country, Ireland.

Father: What I said to the marine-store dealer was, that he should have given the boy in charge when he first went to sell the articles.

Mr. Yardley: No, you went to claim the brass or the price of it. I believe that statement. You are the meanest and most degraded of wretches, and I fear that in addressing you, my feelings will, in despite of me, conquer my better judgment. There is no evidence to connect you directly with the offence—I wish there had been; but you go with your son to recover the plunder. I had hoped that the house of a father would be better for the child than a goal, but the house of such a father—why mince the matter—of such a scoundrel, is the very worst pollution. Though nothing can be lower or meaner, I must discharge you; whilst for the boy's own good, I am compelled to sentence him to a month's imprisonment; and if you do not take care, it will not be long before you are brought to this court again.

MISCELLANEOUS.

FORTUNE favours the Queen. Her recovery, and that of the infant prince, has progressed so favourably, that she was declared "convalescent" on Wednesday, and the bulletins ceased. Her mother, the Duchess of Kent, has visited her Majesty every day; and the calls on Monday and Wednesday, when the bulletins were issued, were very numerous.

Prince Albert has taken horse exercise, daily, since Friday.

The wages movement continues among all classes. Not only the ship-building trades, but carpenters and brickmakers, especially in Devonshire and Somersetshire, ask manfully for an advance. Again the manufacturing operatives demand a rise. The Ipswich shipwrights have obtained their wishes, and the iron-workers in South Wales.

In Manchester, the briskness of the building trades, added to emigration, is expected to lead to a general advance of wages, and most of the plasterers succeeded, on Thursday, in getting their weekly earnings raised from an average of 26s. per week to about 28s. The masons contemplate seeking a rise from their present wages, which are 5s. and 5s. 6d. per day, to 6s. and upwards. The joiners are agitating an advance also.

Mr. Thomas Greene, Peelite, has been elected for Lancaster by a good majority over Mr. Armstrong, brother of the late member.

The Queen has presented to the Duke of Brabant a magnificent silver dressing-case on the occasion of his coming of age.

The Bishop elect of Lincoln, Dr. Jackson, is to be consecrated at Lambeth on the 5th of May.

Lord Carlisle presided over a public dinner in aid of the funds of the Westminster, Literary, Scientific, and Me-

chanic's Institution, given at the Freemason's Tavern on Wednesday. The Institution is in debt 600l., and 600l. were collected after dinner.

By a curious coincidence, Mrs. Beecher Stowe, and the author of "Sam Slick," Mr. Justice Halliburton, arrived in England by the *Canada* on Monday. [The story of Mrs. Stowe's serious illness, were it not guaranteed by her husband, we could not help looking on as incorrect.]

We understand that Mr. Nathaniel Hawthorne, the American Romancist, has been appointed American Consul-General at Liverpool. We heartily hope the report is true.

Dr. Richard Chambers was found dead last week, by his servant. An inquest was held on Monday, and the jury found that his death "was caused by a diseased heart, under the influence, possibly, of prussic acid taken medicinally."

Letters for officers, seamen, and marines, serving in the Arctic ships, will be in time for H.M.S. Phoenix if sent to the Admiralty before the 29th of April.

Mr. Oliver Lang, master shipwright at Woolwich for twenty-seven years, died suddenly, on Tuesday morning, in the seventy-fifth year of his age. He built the *Terrible* and the *Albert*. The first to design a steam-vessel for the Navy, the *Comet*, he has lived to see steam threaten the sail. He introduced many improvements in ship building, was a great favourite with the Sailor King, and had received many presents from the Emperors of Russia and Austria, and the King of Prussia.

The members of the Southampton Chess Club held a chess *soirée* at the Victoria Assembly Rooms in that town, on Tuesday. Mr. Harwitz, a distinguished professional chess player, together with gentlemen from other clubs, were present. There was also a number of ladies, some of whom played skilfully. Among the players also were several members of the Society of Friends, one of whom defeated a military officer of high rank by superior strategy in the mimic warfare.

Henry Dobson has been hung at York for the murder of Catherine Sheridan at Wakefield. He confessed before his death.

Eliza Cornish and John Cornish, by brutal treatment and starvation caused the death of Mark Cornish, a child of the latter by a former wife. The child was often seen eating offal. They were sentenced to fifteen years transportation.

Three young men at Garstang quarrelled over their drink. One professed an intention to "do" for the others. His threat was held to be a joke. He went out, and presently came back, saying he had killed two of them, and giving up a knife. His story was too true. He had killed one and seriously wounded the other. His name is Wilding.

Honor Gibbons, a single woman, only 21, and Bridget Gerraty, aged forty, killed the child of the former by pouring vitriol down its throat. Honor had joined a burial club, and murdered the child for the fees; Gerraty assisted, seemingly without motive, as the judge said on the trial at Chester, except from a natural inclination for such cruelties. Although the evidence was most complete, the jury qualified their verdict of wilful murder with a recommendation to mercy. Mr. Justice Wightman sentenced both women to be hung.

Mr. Cross, postmaster, parish clerk, sexton, and draper, of Whitechurch, in Shropshire, has been arrested for running off with upwards of 2000l., the contents of letters entrusted to him as postmaster. The discovery of the robbery was effected by one of the persons, who had posted a letter, calling again and desiring to add something on the envelope. The letter was missing, and the postmaster also. Cross set out for Crewe, but on the way altered the route to Shrewsbury; before he could leave that town the police captured him.

One Pope, the butler of Earl Jermyn, has been forging his master's name to bills of a large amount. He was very artful; but when the bills became due, all was discovered.

The City Hospice dies in debt; liabilities not less than 1400l. The secretary and his brother have been before the police-court charged with misappropriating documents and obstructing Mr. Charles Cochrane. They were dismissed, however; but it was elicited that there has been a quarrel as to who should pay the debt.

A novel accident occurred at the office of the Electric Telegraph Company, 448, Strand, on Friday last, April 8. At three minutes before one o'clock there was at Greenwich a very vivid flash of lightning, followed at an interval of four seconds by loud thunder. This electric disturbance of the atmosphere produced a galvanic current in the wire, which dropped the ball in the Strand three minutes before its correct time. The assistant, who had raised the ball in the Strand, had commenced unwinding the chain, and his hand was still on the winch when the unexpected descent of the ball turned the winch violently, and struck him down, greatly alarming some strangers who were present.

The *Boston Herald*, in announcing the death of Elder G. Adams, a Mormon preacher, says:—"On his second visit (to Boston) the Elder preached, baptised converts, whipped a newspaper editor, and played a star engagement at the National Theatre. He was industrious, and filled up all his time. We have a fund of anecdotes concerning this strange mortal, which we shall be glad to print at some other time. We close this article by briefly advertizing to the chastisement he gave an editor for strongly criticising his performance of *Richard III.* The office of the editor was in Washington-street, where Propeller now keeps. Adams armed himself with a cowhide, and watched for his victim. Soon the unsuspecting fellow came down the stairs, and Adams sprang upon him, exclaiming, 'The Lord has delivered thee into my hands, and I shall give thee forty stripes save one, Scripture measure. Brother Graham, keep tally.' So saying, he proceeded to lay on the punishment with hearty good will. In the meantime a large crowd had gathered around the avenging priest and the delinquent. When the tally was up Adams let the man go, and addressed the crowd as follows:— 'Men and brethren, my name is Elder George J. Adams,

preacher of the everlasting Gospel. I have chastised mine enemy. I go this afternoon to fulfil an engagement at the Providence Theatre, where I shall play one of Shakspeare's immortal creations. I shall return to this city at the end of the week, and will, by Divine permission, preach three times next Sabbath on the immortality of the soul, the eternity of matter, and in answer to the question, 'Who is the Devil?' May grace and peace be with you.—Amen!"

HEALTH OF LONDON DURING THE WEEK.

THE mortality of the metropolis is still high, though it exhibits an important decrease on that of the previous week. In the week that ended last Saturday the number of deaths registered was 1340. The average number in ten corresponding weeks of the years 1843-52 was 961, which, with a correction for increase of population, will give a mortality of 1067 for last week. The present return, therefore, shows an excess of 283 above the estimated amount. With the progress of the spring months, and a warmer sky, there is ground for expectation that the public health will speedily improve. The mean temperature of the last three weeks have been progressively 33.3 deg., 43.4 deg., 47.3 deg.

With reference to fatal diseases, a comparison of the facts of the last two weeks discovers generally a decrease. Typhus has declined from 77 to 40, bronchitis from 231 to 166, pneumonia from 122 to 98, phthisis (consumption) from 179 to 165. But hooping-cough, which prevails at present, continues at the same amount, and last week carried off 80 children. Five children died of small-pox, 17 of measles, 38 of scarlatina, and 12 of croup; 5 persons of influenza, one of purpura; 6 of laryngitis, 7 children of laryngismus stridulus. Eight fatal cases of syphilis are recorded, 4 of which occurred to children. A woman, aged 35 years, died from "grief and anxiety (12 months), anæmia (3 months)."

Last week the births of 791 boys and 600 girls, in all 1391 children, were registered in London. In the eight corresponding weeks of the years 1845-52, the average number was 1368.

At the Royal Observatory, Greenwich, the mean height of the barometer in the week was 29.742 in.; on Saturday the main reading was 30.149 in. The mean temperature of the week was 47.3 deg., which is 3 deg. above the average of the same week in 38 years. On the first five days the mean daily temperature was from 2 deg. to 8 deg. above the average; during the rest of the week, when the wind blew from the north, it was about 4 deg. below it. During the greater part of the week the wind was in the west. The mean dew point temperature was 40.1 deg.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

BIRTHS.

On the 7th of April, the Lady Frances Lindsay: a son.
On the 8th, in Guildford-street, Lady Pollock: a daughter.
On the 9th, at 28, Queen-street, Edinburgh, the Lady Bianca Balfour: a son.
On the 11th, at Wickham-place, Essex, Lady Champion de Creepigny: a daughter.
On the 12th, at Hopton-hall, the wife of Rear-Admiral Plunridge: a son.

MARRIAGES.

On the 25th of January, at Cawnpore, W. S. Pierson, Esq., Fifty-fourth Bengal N.I., son of Captain Sir W. H. Pierson, B.N., to Louisa Mary, daughter of Colonel Pettingall, commanding the Fifty-fifth Bengal N.I.
On the 2nd of April, at Frankfurt-on-the-Main, Theodore Kachen, Esq., to Emma, daughter of Robert Koch, Esq., H.M. Vice-Consul.
On the 4th, at Florence, Campbell Munro, Esq., Lieutenant and Captain Grenadier Guards, to Henrietta Maria, youngest daughter of John Drummond, Esq.
On the 5th, at Hainholz, near Hanover, Lieutenant Charles Quentin, of the Hanoverian Hussar Guards, youngest son of the late Lieutenant-General Sir George Quentin, K.C.B., to Mary Augusta Sophie Esther, second daughter of the late Lieutenant Eicke, King's German Legion.
On the 8th, at Alverstoke Church, the Earl of Lisburne, to the Hon. Elizabeth Augusta Harriet Mitchell, youngest daughter of the Lady Harriet Mitchell, and of the late Colonel Hugh Henry Mitchell.
On the 7th, at the Abbey Church, Brompton, the Rev. George Augustus Seymour, to Elizabeth Welman, fifth daughter of the late Hon. and Rev. Gerard T. Noel, canon of Winchester, and vicar of Brompton.
On the 7th, at Everecreech Church, Somerset, Henry, eldest son of the Right Hon. Henry Hobhouse of Hadspen-house, to Charlotte Strutt, the youngest daughter of the late, and sister of the present Lord Talbot de Malahide.
On the 12th, at Hove, Edward Latham Ormerod, M.D., of Brighton, sixth son of George Ormerod, Esq., D.C.L., of Tyldestrey, Lancashire, and of Sedbury-park, Gloucestershire, to Mary Olivia, eldest daughter of Edward Robert Porter, Esq., of Upper Brunswick-place, Brighton.
On the 13th, at St. Nicholas, Rochester, the Rev. Percival Laurence, son of Joseph Laurence, Esq., of Beddington, to Isabella Sarah, daughter to Captain Mooroom, C.E., of Satis House, Rochester, and granddaughter of the late Admiral Sir Robert Mooroom, K.C.B.
On the 13th, at St. George's, Hanover-square, the Hon. James Grant, second son of the Right Hon. the Earl of Seaford, to Constance Elene, fourth surviving daughter of Sir Robert Abercromby, Bart., of Birkenbog and Forglan, Banffshire.

DEATHS.

On the 10th of February, at Valparaiso, the Hon. Henry Eden, late mate in H.M.S. *Virago*, second son of Lord Auckland, Bishop of Sodor and Man.
On the 24th of March, at Brooklyn, New York, Susan Aspinwall, wife of Lewis Tappan, Esq., and sister of Colonel Aspinwall, Consul of the United States at London.
On the 2nd of April, at Hanover, George Cochrane, the third son of Sir Frederick Thesiger, M.P., aged sixteen.
On the 6th, at 34, Chester-street, Belgrave square, Miss Douglas, last surviving sister of the late Admiral John Erskine Douglas.
On the 9th, the Hon. and Rev. Armine Wodehouse, third son of the first Lord Wodehouse.
On the 10th, at Haslar Hospital, Dr. James Anderson, Medical Inspector of Hospitals and Fleets.
On the 11th, at 1, Camden-street, Camden-town, Henry Austin, fourth son of John Killo, D.D., aged twelve months.
On the 12th, Oliver Lang, Esq., at his official residence, her Majesty's Dockyard, Woolwich.
Suddenly, at his house, 35, Wimpole-street, of atrophy of the heart, Richard Chambers, M.D., aged thirty-four.

The Leader

SATURDAY, APRIL 16, 1853.

Public Affairs.

There is nothing so revolutionary, because there is nothing so unnatural and convulsive, as the strain to keep things fixed when all the world is by the very law of its creation in eternal progress.—Dr. ARNOLD.

ENGLISH MINISTERS AUSTRIAN ACCOMPLICES.

MANY, we know, will naturally look to us for an explanation how the facts stand in regard to the proceedings which Government professes to have instituted against M. Kossuth; and, although all the facts are not yet before us, we have no hesitation in anticipating the wishes of our friends. Probably when they understand the facts as they appear thus far, our readers will think with us, that it is not the character of Kossuth which is in danger of being lowered, but that Ministers must produce some very unexpected disclosures indeed if they can hope to recover their own character. We shall endeavour to present the facts as plainly as possible, and without any kind of colour. If we are unable to connect them all, the concealment lies not with the Hungarian, nor with ourselves, but with the Government.

Not very long ago a person called on Kossuth at his own house, uninvited, unannounced, and unprovided with a pretext save a vague expression of interest; he led the conversation to the subject of arms but could only learn that Kossuth kept a brace of loaded revolvers by him; and no more has been heard of that person. It is suspected that he was a Government spy.

A letter was written by a gentleman in America to Mr William Hale, a civil engineer, author of several inventions, and amongst others of a certain war-rocket, very destructive. This letter happened to mention the war-rockets as being the very thing "for Cuba." The letter never reached its destination, and inquiries have failed to extract it from the Post-office.

On Wednesday evening last, in the absence of Mr. Hale, policemen effected a forcible entrance into his factory at Rotherhithe, seized two rockets, and left a man in possession. A cottage attached to the factory was also taken, and two of the rockets were seized.

The *Times* described the warrant under which this was done as "a Secretary of State's warrant." It was not such, but it was a Bow-street warrant, colourably issued under a local act, prohibiting the keeping of gunpowder within three miles of the metropolis in any quantity exceeding fifty pounds; the warrant authorizing the police to search the premises of "Robert Hale," not William Hale. There are, however, some more important technical flaws in the proceedings of the police which will probably be the subject of appeal to justice; but we are now confining our narration to the main facts bearing upon the political character of the case.

Last evening a series of questions were put to Lord Palmerston, and we beg the reader's particular attention to these questions and to his replies:—

Sir JOSHUA WALMSLEY asked if the report in the *Times*, that Kossuth's house had been entered by the police, and that arms and ammunition had been found, was true? Lord PALMERSTON did not answer this question, but gave a statement of "the facts," which we shall examine presently.

Sir JOSEPH asked, if Government had given assurances to the Austrian Government on the subject? Lord PALMERSTON made no answer to this question.

Mr. BURNETT demanded "an explicit answer" to the question, whether there was any reason to believe that Kossuth had been at all connected with the discovery of the alleged to have been made? Lord PALMERSTON "was really unable to answer the question."

Mr. TEMAS DUNCOMBE asked whether Government was not aware that the same premises had been used for the manufacture of these rockets for the last six years? Lord PALMERSTON admitted that the premises had been occupied by the same party for six

years, and used during that period for the manufacture of rockets.

In looking at these answers, the reader must already have begun to share our surprise that Government is conscious of having committed itself to an unwarrantable course; that there is no foundation for the charge sent for publication to the *Times* office; and that Ministers stand confessed the willing but the blundering agents of Austria. But we will not anticipate conclusions on this discreditable affair.

It is now our duty to anatomize Lord Palmerston's statement of "the facts."

He cites a report that in "a house"—it was not a house, but a regular manufactory—there was "concealed"—there was no concealment, and Government has had full knowledge for the last six years of all that was discovered—a quantity of "warlike stores."

On search, he says, being made—no mention of the forcible entry—rockets were found, "not such as are used at Vauxhall," besides 200 shells not yet loaded—they have lain there for years, purchased for experiments in rockets before the British Government—a considerable quantity of rocket composition, and 500 pounds of gunpowder—there was no gunpowder.

"These arms"—there were no arms of any kind—"of course" had been seized—two rockets were carried off—and steps would be taken to prosecute the offenders.

We might almost venture to give this last assertion the same treatment as Lord Palmerston's other "facts," but we cannot presume that Government will abstain from any step to support itself in the course which it has taken, not with the view of satisfying the wishes of the Austrian Government, but preventing the generosity of this country extended to political exiles from being abused.

Lord Palmerston insinuates that there are "offenders," so that there must have been an offence. What was it? Mr. Hale is a manufacturer of ammunition, and he has made it for foreign Governments—aye, legitimate Governments. Is that an "offence"? If so, Ministers, Lord Palmerston included, have condoned the offence for six years.

But we have a statement of "the facts" to lay before the public. The law under which the Police warrant purported to be issued is directed against the keeping of gunpowder, and is intended as a preventative against keeping dangerous explosives near London: under this law, the rocket composition cannot be twisted into "gunpowder." The law gives no authority for political purposes. Under the illegal warrant, Mr. Hale's warehouse has been forcibly entered, he is treated as "an offender," and his property is seized and exposed to damage.

Thus far we have plainly and simply narrated facts; but now we have a few questions to put to Lord Palmerston and to his colleagues, and two to the English people. Can Lord Palmerston answer Sir Joshua Walmsley's question in the negative, and declare that the British Government has given no assurances to the Austrian Government on the subject? Can he say that the English Cabinet is not acting in close concert with those of Austria, France, Prussia, and Russia, to spy upon the acts of foreign patriots, and to defeat attacks on those Governments; attacks by those Governments being permitted? Can Lord Palmerston say that letters in the Post-office are not opened? Has he read the letter about the rockets "for Cuba"? Can he say that he has not long been in confidential communication with persons who affect to act with the patriot leaders? If there were enough resolution in the House of Commons he would be forced to answer these questions categorically, or to make by his silence, a confession equivalent to an answer.

Of Lord Palmerston's Liberal colleagues, especially Sir William Molesworth, we ask whether they know the relations of Lord Aberdeen and Lord Palmerston with the anti-constitutional, absolutist, tyrannical, and cruel Government of Austria? Of the Conservative Members, especially Lord Aberdeen and Mr. Gladstone, we ask, whether they are sincere, and whether they will state their real opinions as to the selection of alliances for England; whether they do not seek to employ the power of this country in aiding Absolutism against national rights?

Of our Englishmen we ask, whether they intend that the power of England shall be used by Austria against Italy, by Austria against Hungary, by Russia against Europe? We ask whether Englishmen intend to see their coun-

tryman, Mr. Hale, be the victim of these Austrian proceedings, without standing up in his defence?

If they do intend not to protect him, the day of their freedom and of England's independence is gone; and all who desire to live in a country free, with untarnished national honour, had better follow their countrymen to America, or to Australia, the America of the South.

For it is time to recognise this truth. Kossuth, Mazzini, and all patriots, have a right to levy war against the Governments that have usurped France, usurped Hungary, violated law in Italy, and defied the code of Europe and humanity. By exercising exactly the same right against the Stuarts, England won the liberties that are her boast; but if now she forswears that right in the persons of the foreign emulators of Hampden and Cromwell, she will forfeit her own. For the right is one that can only be maintained by a people so strong in faith as to be prepared to meet death in its defence, to vindicate it with unflinching voice and unflinching hand.

WHAT WILL ENGLISHMEN DO WITH THEIR MONEY?

It is possible that Turkish financiers will be coming to London to ask for another advance of money. The bank that contracted the late loan, which the Government permitted and then repudiated, has been dissolved; a brand new bank has been established; rumours are afloat, and are perhaps not incorrect, that the Turkish revenue is improving; but it is probable that English capital will be invited to lay the basis of the new bank at Constantinople. Now, let us consider some of the circumstances attending this new request for cash.

There is another mission from Turkey at this moment in London; come to wind up the repudiated loan; and the holders of the scrip have really so little prospect of fastening upon Turkey the usual responsibilities of the creditor, that they accept the terms offered. In fact the old loan is repudiated, as the new bank is established, under the influence of Turkish dictation. But a State that abolishes its Bank of England to get rid of a loan, that conducts its finances under foreign dictation, and asks for help in the same breath that it revokes, is not exactly the kind of borrower that English commercial men ordinarily patronise.

There are innumerable Greeks in that quarter, peopling the indented shores of Turkey; they are the intermediaries for taking nearly 3,000,000*l.* of British manufactures, and for supplying a large corn trade to us; they are the commercial class of Turkey; they are on the spot; they know all the circumstances; they possess the means; and if property is quite safe in Turkish hands, they would afford all the capital that is wanted, without need for having it from London.

Nay, Turkey herself is rich in resources, if they were but worked; and in her late overtures to Paris and London, now repudiated, she showed herself so advanced in civilization as to be laying the foundation of a national debt. But she was compelled to back out; because free and beneficial intercourse between the Turks and Europeans does not fall in with Russian views. Russia does not desire the improvement of Turkey, commercially or politically. It is not capital then that Turkey wants, nor will, nor opportunity; but freedom. If, indeed, our good Ministers in Downing-street could tell the gentlemen of Cornhill that the independence of Turkey should be secured, then British investments would be quite safe. But what real security can be offered in the English market by a Russian serf? Instead of looking forward to an extension of commercial relations with Turkey, we may anticipate the time when the Turkish part of Russia will no longer take 3,000,000*l.* of British goods.

Turkey is not the only foreign state in which English capitalists are risking their means. The peace-address deputation was a mistake commercially not less than politically. Its object was to cover the advance of English shareholders into a French railway scheme. Now, we have had railway schemes in England; but English capitalists are not liable to the incidents which have befallen French commerce; and some of the circumstances of the project are worth consideration. M. de Morny, who reluctantly "consented" to be the chairman of the company; M. de Morny, one of the assistants of Louis Napoleon before he was Emperor, and when he was only an adventurer

scheming to surprise Paris. The shares are to be divided into four parts—two quarters are generously allotted to English capitalists; one quarter is allotted to "the subscribers" in France; and the last quarter to the *Société de Crédit Mobilier*—that huge loan society which is one of the projects of bastard socialism established by Louis Napoleon to raise the wind. English capitalists, therefore, will literally be partners with that great loan society which its author sarcastically named "the Society of Moveable Credit." And this partnership is effected under the auspices of that august Emperor who has confiscated property as summarily as he has confiscated lives and constitutions.

Now really it does appear to us, that Englishmen have a prospect of doing better things with their money than lodging it with Louis Napoleon or the alien serf whom Russia holds in duress. The operation which Mr. Gladstone is about to effect on the public funds is at once the sign of our augmenting resources, and the probable cause of a still further augmentation. It was declared that his proceeding would derange public credit: the market is firm. It was prognosticated that Exchequer Bills would be driven to a discount: they are rising. What do those facts mean, but that the commercial public is looking at these transactions with an eye of common sense; and that a measure which is to mobilize part of the public debt is welcomed?

It is true that one reason which renders capital welcome in any form, is that rising value of labour which enables wages just now to encroach upon profits; and we can well understand that capital may be tempted into France or any other country by the "favourable terms" offered. You can get from three to four per cent. in the public funds of France, while our Chancellor of the Exchequer is establishing a new denomination of two-and-a-half per cent.; and while Consols are above par in London, in Paris you can buy in for 80*l.* But is not the 10*l.* stock worth more at 100*l.* or $\frac{2}{3}$, than the French stock is worth 80? Who can tell what may befall your 100*l.* trusted out to nurse in France? Again, mere money value of wages is not the only consideration in the market. Labour has risen in value, partly because it is scarcer, but very greatly also, because it is the means of obtaining the large and certain returns which attend legitimate commerce in this country. Should matters proceed as they now do, labour is likely to become still more costly, the labourer more independent, and his social relation to the capitalist very different from what it has been; and, for our part, we anticipate that continued advance with hope. Does it follow that capital will be worse off because labour is better off? On the contrary, we believe that the present opportunity for capital is exactly proportionate to that for labour.

People are leaving the country at the rate of more than 300,000 a year; they have been doing so for the last five years, and the ratio is increasing. Hand-labour is growing scarcer, and therefore dearer, in almost every county and every trade. It is becoming evident, even to the agriculturist, that the deficiency must be made good by machinery. Machinery requires skilled labour, which is better instructed than rude labour, therefore more productive, while the labourer is better able to manage himself for his own interests. Thus, under the continued dearth of labour, a great change is likely to be effected for the better in the condition of the labourer. But what will be the duty of capital? In the first instance, to supply that machinery—in the second, to use it. Capital in England, then, has before it new opportunities—first, in the shape of the regular increase to the ordinary commerce; secondly, in the facilities offered to it by the influx of gold and the improved arrangements of the public finance, including the mobilization of the public funds; thirdly, in the creation of machinery to supply the rare hand-labour; fourthly, in supplying the wants of a population more limited, but able to enjoy a much larger consumption of priced articles; and fifthly, in the extension of scientific and organized industry to agriculture—that stupendous commencement of a new trade taking place in the wealthiest country of the world. Truly appears to us that there is plenty of work for a profitable employment of capital, without lending it for a plaything to a French or a Russian Emperor, without establishing banks for Greek

account under Russian patronage, or entering into partnership with Louis Napoleon's funny "Society of Moveable Credit."

INTELLIGENCE versus EDUCATION.

LET us not, in considering the bearings of the Education Scheme of the Government, forget that Lord John Russell has ever insisted on the educational test in politics. The property qualification, as he has always viewed it, is a representative qualification. The bricks get the vote, because to attain bricks is supposed to necessitate the having brains; and Lord John has only faith in the educated brains. He has never opposed demands for suffrage extension by a principle: his argument has been, and still is, that "rights" can only conveniently be admitted to exist in "intelligence;" and that various tabulated statistics disclose that there is no guarantee of educated classes being discoverable much below a 10*l.* or 5*l.* house franchise. To his mind, then, his speech and proposal of Monday week had political tendencies of an influential character. His educational scheme precedes his suffrage scheme. He must have considered that he was taking the first step toward the intellectual preparation of the British community for perfected political enfranchisement. And in that light it is obvious his scheme is a distinguished *non sequitur*.

But the opportunity should be taken of ventilating this educational test question. The unenfranchised may plainly perceive in the conclusions of the Cabinet, as reported by Lord John Russell, that the objection so often used against the ignorance of the applicants for freemanship is only a dexterous cant; and that there is no real resolve to catechise the country up to the fit-for-voting point, which, if sought for in the vague directions given by the aristocracy, will be found exceptionally without position, as well as without magnitude. It would be well, therefore, to face the cant, and expose it; for clearly the democracy cannot wait to pass that examination, the character and date of which the holders of power of certificate cannot be got to fix.

There is a confusion of terms in all that is said on the subject, which only needs detecting to explode the entire argument. Sydney Smith used to meet the talk about the "want of education," &c., with the emphatic, "Pooh; it's the worst educated country in the world I grant you—but it's the best instructed." The whole blunder is in using as synonyms "intelligence" and "education," and in assuming that education is only of one sort—that which comes from schools. It would be better if there were what Mr. Phina called, recently, "compulsory education"—if every man and woman had to begin at a school, and to reach certain qualifications, as a basis for the adult education, before being let away from school. But does it follow because the masses are not school-taught that they are ignorant? The instruction of which Sydney Smith spoke, is political and social—that species of education which goes on in the workshop, in the taproom, in the club, in the meeting, in the reading of newspapers; and politically and socially our masses of the working-class are the best instructed in Europe. In the same session Lord John will talk of the "enlightened" country, and when he has to stave off a reform motion, of the "ignorance" in the community; and the reconciliation of the belief that we are at once the most forward and the most backward of civilized mankind is not easy. Supposing that the national school system of England were perfected; when the boy leaves school, what better political and social education could he get than it is in his power now to get, not having been at school at all, or for a longer period than enabled him to sign his name and read the town placards? The anti-democracy argument always appears to proceed upon the assumption that children are to vote; there is no provision for adult education. A suggestion of Lord Brougham's used to be, that an enfranchisement of the masses would in itself be an education; that when a man got a vote the thinking how he should use that vote would rapidly make him an educated man. In effect, there is no real thought until there is responsibility; no political earnestness until there is direct political conscience. Let us contend by all means for national education; but for our children, not for our men. The artisans and peasants of France and Germany are better educated, in the school sense, than the shopkeeping

classes of England; but would Lord John Russell trust more to the French or German than to the English people for political accuracy? Our adult education, however accidentally favorable, because it goes on in a tolerably free atmosphere, is no doubt bad; and that is what we should like to see Lord John Russell more honestly eager about. The men of England, for political purposes, must be educated by their newspapers and their books; and until knowledge is untaxed, we decline to believe in the limitations of the "higher classes" over popular ignorance. In that light, Ministers, on Thursday, performed a contemptible farce, in opposing Mr. Gibson; and we do not assume that Mr. Disraeli has any more faith in the people, than Mr. Gladstone, or Lord John Russell, because he voted for the abolition of the advertisement tax. Let us remember, for another year, when we canvass the earnestness of the Commons' House about education, that not 100 members, in a full House, could be got to vote against the paper duties or the newspaper stamp. Let us, so, remember, as another curious fact, that the Tory and Protestant gentlemen voted against enfranchising the press, and that the Irish brigade, these dangerous ultramontane Roman-Catholic gentlemen, voted, almost to a man, with the members for Manchester. The division was on the question, "That this House has faith in the people;" and not 100 said "aye." The educated and enlightened classes are homeopaths in their doses of knowledge and thought to the masses; as if the masses are humble and content, why there is nothing to do but protest in the abstract, as wait, in humble hope, the action of the coarctions, to whom a coalition Government assigns the teaching of the people.

we could carefully distinguish between intelligence and education, we might make some curious comparisons. A fortnight ago, we pointed out the moral of the Northumberland banquet to Mr. George Grey; the testimony to Free-trade in that case came from the enfranchised, to a man who, because he was a Free-trader, had been rejected by the enfranchised. Who can Free-trade? The educated classes? The House of Lords is better "educated" than the House of Commons; yet there were only two Peers, in the long contest, until the Whigs joined, for party reasons, who were not Protectionists. The Commons themselves struggled thirty years against the demands of the ignorant for cheap food. The country gentlemen are all University men; yet the country gentlemen were obtusely incapable of discerning the career of the Anti-Corn Law League. The House of Lords is led by Lord Derby, sub-led by Lord Malmesbury, and the House of Commons by Lord Malmesbury, and the House of Commons are all severely educated men—scarcely one of them but has taken (or tried to take) his degree—and yet Lord Derby and Lord Malmesbury were the derision of the nation in a conspicuous political collapse. The "Protectionist Administration" reported in an intense degree the aristocracy, the church, and the squirearchy,—the *par excellence* educated, or higher classes; and that Administration fell—first, from personal incapacity; and because at every turn, on nearly every point, it found itself in opposition to "public opinion." But let the comparison be continued beyond the Free-trade episode in our national history. What is the "Tory party?" The party of the "higher classes," of the aristocracy, the church, and the squirearchy,—the educated innards of the British world; and the history of the party is the history of opposition to human progress and human happiness. It is the party, to take the facts and dates of our own generation, which in 1832 opposed that suffrage reform which 1853 is still found insufferably and disgracefully inefficient; which in 1829 resisted the extension of civil rights to those citizens who are the faith of the majority of Christendom, which in 1853, in the face of an unanimous confession of "corruption," will not "Christianise" the House of Commons by the admission of a single Jew gentleman. Count every step in enlightened political and social advance during the last fifty years; the educated Tory party will be found in the struggle of resistance. Who is the distinguished member for the obstructive interest?—time-honoured representative of the aristocracy Alma Mater, Oxford. He is the best educated man in Parliament—according to University; and we need not enlarge upon

the human results of his political apostleship. It would interest us to hear of an instance of a member of that Tory party which objects to the democracy for its ignorance, having done one legislative act for the greater enlightenment or increased happiness of his country or mankind.

The suggestion need not be pushed: its value, in the controversy of the moment, is palpable. The educated classes of England, it is the news of the day, are in league with the Powers of the continent against human freedom; and the value of that test for the British franchise is not quite apparent. Could 4000 working men have been got to sign an address of amity to Louis Napoleon? The 'Change is enlightened in its way; but its enlightenment is not so good as that of the market-place and the workshop; and for the simple reason that the sympathetic nature is the most intellectual nature. The enlightenment of Mayfair is reflected in the Carlton Club cellar, politically; and, socially, in such machineries as had better not be examined, if we would not altogether throw discredit upon the profession of university tutor and accomplished governess.

DIPLOMACY A PROFESSION.

VARIOUS reforms of the public service at home and abroad are in agitation, and more than one of our contemporaries has grappled with the subject. It is also discussed by men who have, or have had, and may again have, a share of power, and it is agreeable to see that sound ideas on the subject are decidedly making progress. The debate in the House of Commons on Friday night last week is an example, notwithstanding Lord Palmerston's speech, for if he insinuated antagonistic fallacies he contrived also not only to controvert other speakers, but to refute himself.

This feat was admirably performed. First of all he turned his sarcasm upon the valid arguments of Lord Stanley, treating them as if he had refuted them, and then turning round upon the arguments which he had himself advanced, he showed how absurd they were; thus standing before the admiring House in the attitude of a man who has *à fortiori* doubly refuted the original speaker, on whose very ground he was standing. Lord Stanley had said, that the persons employed in the diplomatic service at present, had not gone through any sufficient training to fit them for the work; and while proposing systematic examinations at stated periods, somewhat like those for "mates" in the navy, he also recommended that the service should no longer be so much a reserve of patronage, but should be thrown open to the public, nevertheless retaining to the State a right of employing distinguished political persons in the upper ranks, even though they had not gone through the successive grades. In his gay manner Lord Palmerston controverted this last position. Men, he said, who were engaged in any business, would find it convenient to understand something of the business they had to execute. It would be very awkward if a distinguished Diplomatist, meeting a foreign Minister, were to say that he could not understand his interlocutor, but that he only performed the ornamental part of the mission, and must send for his secretary to know what to say. You cannot, argued Lord Palmerston, make the diplomatic service anything but a profession. Yet he said, turning round upon himself, how absurd it would be if you were to refuse to employ distinguished politicians like Sir Henry Bulwer, or Lord Ashburton, because they had not risen through successive grades. Having beaten Lord Stanley after a fashion, Lord Palmerston finished the task by beating himself, which gave him a sort of double victory. Yet we doubt whether he can quite realize his triumph. It is like a very ingenious invention which was devised for the use of travellers, which consisted of a pocket vessel formed out of a solid piece somewhat like an hour-glass: stand one end up and it was a bottle, set up the other end and you had a wine-glass; but the difficulty was to get them both to perform their office at the same moment, or to make both ends meet so as to pour the good liquor out of the bottle into the glass. Lord Palmerston, in short, performed the ornamental part of the debate, and enlivened it by showing the House how the subject would look when it was upside down.

In spite, however, of this pleasantry, the instructive fact was, that Lord Stanley appeared as a young reformer, fully master of his subject

in its main principles and its details; that Lord Palmerston could meet him with no better argument; and that Mr. Disraeli was really at one with both the previous speakers. Nay, they have all been practically at work upon the subject. Lord Stanley tells us that the late Government, of which Mr. Disraeli was the head, had been considering the reorganization of the diplomatic service in the sense that he described; and Lord Palmerston disclosed the fact, that he also had been endeavouring to make a very systematic arrangement for a professional introduction to diplomacy. "When he was in the Foreign Office he entered into a negotiation with the authorities of the London University to take considerable steps towards effecting an arrangement for the examination which was to take place." One would like to know something more of that negotiation and its sequel. If Lord Palmerston is no longer in the Foreign Office, he is in the Home Office and the Cabinet; and his great knowledge of diplomatic affairs, could not be turned to better account than in promoting that official reorganization in his former department which is so desirable.

One of the reasons why British influence is declining abroad, unquestionably lies in the inferior instruments which this country is obliged to use. Russian servants we all know are better trained; and Austria, says Lord Palmerston, employs only those who understand their business; not placing diplomatic appointments at the service of young gentlemen who desire to travel. Such, he implies, is the practice of Great Britain alone. If the influence of the United States is rising, it may be ascribed to the converse cause; the promotion is so regular, that the heads of the departments abroad generally rise to that rank by promotion.

It is not only the diplomatic service that invites revision and amendment. It has been announced that the Customs departments will undergo a remodelling, though it is understood that the reconstruction will chiefly relate to the superior offices. The Civil Service of India is most likely to be handled after the reconstruction of the central Government; and there is no reason to suppose that other departments, which need reform not less, will be spared. It is quite evident that something like the right idea has seized hold of the minds of leading Statesmen; and there is no doubt that if the public were alive to the subject, it might obtain for itself two distinct and important advantages. One advantage, and not the least of the two, would be, that public business would be put in train to be much better performed. Another advantage would be, the throwing open of numerous classes of employment to the public at large. Indeed, when we regard the political and social consequences likely to flow from that second fact, we regard it as scarcely less important than the former. It would tend more than anything to remove the distinction that now prevails between heaven-born attachés or politically selected Customs' officers, and the great body of the public seeking such employment through the usual professional studies.

MARRIAGE LAW NON-REFORM.

THE "First Report of the Commissioners appointed by her Majesty, of Enquiry into the Law of Divorce, and more particularly into the mode of obtaining divorce, *à vinculo matrimonii*," does not propose any alteration of the general law, except in the method of administering it. The only grounds which the Commission recommends for divorce *à mensâ et thoro* (from bed and board) are, conjugal infidelity and gross cruelty on the part of the husband; for divorce *à vinculo matrimonii* (from the marriage bond) for adultery only, and only on the suit of the husband; except that the wife may apply for a divorce *à vinculo* in the cases of aggravated enormity, such as incest or bigamy. The cases are to be brought before a tribunal consisting of a Vice Chancellor, a Common Law Judge, and a Judge of the Ecclesiastical Courts. The new tribunal will be an improvement; in other respects the Commission suggests no improvement; on the contrary, the very effect of an enquiry, resulting in the express abstinence from any improvement or relaxation, is tantamount to a refastening of the law in all its monstrosity; and we are, therefore, to consider that the practical grievances under which many English people now labour, are to remain some considerable time longer without any redress.

world by the following extract from the pen of the Reverend Sidney Godolphin Osborne, and printed by the Times:—

"I have before me the report for 1852 of 'the Poor Men's Clothing Society'; in it there is a copy of a letter of thanks for relief to the manager of that institution, under every letter of the alphabet; and these are headed 'Extracts from Correspondence.' I find in these letters from clergymen,—i.e., from men who might be bishops—gratitude expressed for coats, which they called themselves as though they 'had been made to measure'; secondhand frocks, equally fortunate for their daughters; 'brown linen, which makes up into waggoner's bibs for our boys'; 'Old bed curtains, which, re-made, made nice winter curtains for my room.' 'When we are sitting round our hearth,' writes another 'G,' 'we talk over our dress, and one points out one thing and another to another, all and each supplied by your parcel.' Letter 'L' says, 'Accept our warmest thanks for all you have sent, but especially for the linen, which Mrs. L— much required; the boots and coats are matters of delight to my boys.' 'O' says, 'The black cloth comes very seasonably; the coat, trousers, and waistcoat, ready-made, fit very nicely.' 'Q' says, 'My dear daughters are delighted; they knew that they could not be clothed, year after year, when they are, without your kind help.' 'U' says, 'The cloth would be amply sufficient to include a vest, and I usually wear a frock-coat, which will require the whole quantity now sent; but this is of no moment, as I really need a new vest.' 'Y' says, 'The articles are so good and so suitable, that we stand astonished; you will be pleased to hear that in most instances the wearing apparel is really a good fit, requiring but little alteration as it is to the natural feelings to be the object of such bounty, I cannot but yet feel that the association which you represent is entitled to my deep gratitude and thanks.'"

Probably among these humble men we might find some of the lights of the Church as she should be. What a hard step-mother they have found her as she is. She ordained them to be children of God; she compels them to be the supplicants of men for food and raiment to keep them respectable. A member of this national Church does not patch where he can, and so get him together a congregation who trust and love him. No, he is admitted to the grace of starvation, while the property amassed in the course of ages is shared partly on the principle of patronage and favouritism.

Then there is the enormous folly of simony; the enormous folly of non-residence; the enormous folly of dog work by badly paid deputies, who are ground down to the earth—the clerical Uncle Toms of diocesan Legrees—victims of the worst kind of slavery, the slavery of mock freedom, the slavery whose alternative is starvation. It is said curate connive at low salaries, glad to catch at straws. Here is a case which has been brought under our notice; we commend it to the attention, it may be allowed, of the Bishop of Bath and Wells.

Not a hundred miles from the fine old episcopal palace of Wils there is an aristocratic rectory. The rectory good easy man, is lapped in the luxury of many good things. Cited at every visitation, the indulgence of the superior clerical authority, he never answers to his name. This gentleman receives one-half of the tithes, the rest of the Rectory House, and of above a hundred acres of glebe land. For this pay he has never given any consideration, never done any duty, and woe be to him who has never been in the parish since he was inducted and read himself in about thirty years ago!

Now this parish, of which this worthy is Rector, comprises five hamlets and twelve hundred souls. He looks after their spiritual welfare? The Rector is one of those shocking anomalies, a clerical lay impropriator; he takes the lion's share and other lay impropriators take the remainder the tithes and glebe lands. The Vicar, who does the work, gets something over a hundred a year. But then the Rectory House is let to him; when he has paid rent and taxes, his honorarium is less than a hundred a year! The natural consequence ensues. The vicar, a gentleman and a scholar, as well as a clergyman, is obliged to take pupils, and, of course, the time he devotes to them is filched from the parish. Is this not an abomination? Now we have reason to believe, this is by no means an unusual or even an extreme case.

The Church has splendid bishops, opulent deans, magnificent

the same standard judges her curates to be poor, and not respectable enough for promotion. If the Church had her parliament, properly constituted, could these things be? If her parliament could not devise a remedy, then—but we must leave futurity to settle that question. It is possible that all this gross mismanagement may bring about changes wonderful to survivors. At all events, whether the property held by the magnificoes of the Church be rightfully the property of that Church, or the property of the Nation, one thing is clear—a just and earnest people will not long allow it to be abused and misapplied, after the fashion current for these many, many years.

LAW AND LUNACY.

TERM has commenced, and the law reports of the week, telling principally of civil injuries, lose their interest for general readers. We must wait now for the May meetings and the next assizes before we again hear how wicked the world is; meanwhile we must endeavour to forget with what an equality of failure these two noxious influences have hitherto attempted to improve it.

There are then but two cases of late date which seem to deserve mention at our hands: the first is in Monday's papers, and is that of a young mother, aged 20, wilfully murdering her child, as stupidly as brutally, with oil of vitriol, for the mere sordid motive of obtaining the paltry gain to be got out of a burial club, of which the infant had been entered as a member. In the trial there is nothing peculiar to remark; nor is there, we fear, in the wretched woman who was tried, any such great peculiarity as there should be. So low is the moral cultivation of the classes by whose patronage burial clubs thrive, that among them the murder of members by their relatives for the fees is of almost constant occurrence—that even maternal instinct becomes distorted or destroyed. So low is their mental cultivation, that discovery always follows on their crime, and the secretary of the club hangs them, as they poisoned their acquaintances, neither from personal malice nor from public feeling, but simply with a calm and business-like view to the possession of the undertaking expenses. In this case, the mother administers oil of vitriol to her child, and doubtless is surprised at the traces left by the dose—an argument for or against education, seeing that the crime would not have been committed, had the criminal been properly trained; and on the other hand, that it would not have been discovered had she not been perfectly ignorant. The only question left by the dilemma is, whether to prevent be not better than to punish.

The other case we find reported in the *Durham Advertiser*; it occurred at Quarter Sessions, and, as tending to show that at other lunatic asylums besides the Bethlehem, the practice of gross cruelty towards insane persons still exists, should not be lost sight of by those who do not think that diseases of the mind are to be cured by sufferings inflicted on the body. The Commissioners, we notice with pleasure, are on the alert, and it was in consequence of a communication from them that the matter became the subject of inquiry. As the accusation runs, the proprietor of the Dunston Asylum has horsewhipped one of his patients, and (on the ground that he used them to bite him with) has caused the extraction of some of his teeth. The horsewhipping does not appear to be denied, the tooth-drawing responsibility seems possibly to lie with the dentist, and not with the accused. Here, therefore, the matter lies; a report is sent to the Commissioners; the license of Mr. Wilkinson, against whom this misconduct is charged, is suspended; and the public waits for the result. We trust that it will be satisfactory, and that if the vindication of the accused be not sufficient, his punishment will be certain. A question of Bar morality, often canvassed, but never yet properly pronounced upon, has been raised again in the Leicester Election Committee. The petition, weak enough in itself, was deserted one day altogether by the two leading counsel who had been paid to support it; the unfortunate junior, whose principal occupation should have been to look official, and mend the pens of his seniors, was left to cope, unassisted, with Serjeant Wilkins, the most formidable antagonist he could have had; and a not over-brilliant Committee found itself without that excuse for not understanding the arguments, which, had there been

any opposition, they might have got rid of by saying they had been met. Accordingly, there were symptoms of disgust, murmurs that barristers should not receive payment for duties which they did not perform, and at length a record made on the minutes, "That the absence of both the leading counsel for the petitioners was unjust to their constituents and disrespectful to the Committee." However, ubiquity is lucrative, and the habit of taking briefs which they must inevitably neglect, a barristerial characteristic of long standing. So the leading counsel next day remonstrated, the intelligent Committee relented, the obnoxious minute was expunged, and neglect of clients by gentlemen who never neglect the *honorarium*, has received Parliamentary sanction. Juniors may deplore, and the public may denounce this state of things in the legal profession; at present we wish only to expose it. But the matter is hardly amenable to public opinion. Clients and solicitors have protection in their own hands, and it is their own fault if barristers are encouraged in obtaining money under false pretences.

"A STRANGER" IN PARLIAMENT.

THE House of Commons recipe for a Coalition Government would appear to be, "when taken to be well shaken;" and the Coalition Government, like "women, spaniels, and walnut trees," seems to be the better for the beating—at any rate takes it as a matter of course. It set the fashion of "unprincipled combinations," and accepts the penalty; Mr. Disraeli having to the full his revenge on Thursday for the coalescing vote which drove him prematurely from office; and Mr. Butt and Mr. Cobden, on Tuesday, on the Kilmainham and Clitheroe matters, affording to the nation ample evidence that there may, after all, be some inconvenience from a too philosophical dispensation with "Government by party." But, properly considered, the teasing incidents of the week contribute perhaps new evidence of the immense strength of the Cabinet, which has illustrated the fable of the bundle of sticks, and the sagacity of Lord Shelburne's notion that if the great families would only share and share alike, the destinies of humanity would be easily manageable. A weak Government would have been forced into resignation after such a set of divisions; a strong Government does not feel the blows, hardly thinks it decent to notice the intentions, of dwarfs in league against the giant. Besides, is not Lord John leader, and is he not famous as the Tools of politics whose view of any catastrophe is that it's of no consequence? Struck on one cheek he is notorious for a development of face; or, at all events, the extent of his indignation when kicked has been the procrastinating, "You'd better not do that again." The present is also a Government which takes too high ground to be sensitive to petty assaults. Lost in comprehensive considerations about civil and religious liberty, why should it mind a snub about Kilmainham, a correction about Clitheroe, or a setting down about a paltry 200,000*l.* worth of advertisement duty? Pistol Gladstone, pressed for a reckoning with wanters of situations, is exclamatory about golden joys and the reduction of the national debt. Skimpole Sidney Herbert, pushed at the doors of Kilmainham for payment of a debt for lodgings, goes off into statesmanlike generalities about the beauties of benevolence, and the bouquet of British virtue. Cheap literature! said Lord John to Mr. Gibson, "How can you waste time in such talk about details, when I have put before you a bill for national education?" "Stop corruption" is the cry of committee after committee, and Lord John does agree, generally, to a commission, to pass the time; but what more can you expect when he's so engaged in the crowning victory of religious liberty which he got last night? Leader of a Government beaten four times in a week, you might suppose some slight modesty in his tone in the presence of the triumphant Jew gentleman, who rewards by defeats the Cabinet which removes Hebrew disabilities. But Lord John, always looking after great principles, is quite indifferent about small facts. No religious liberty is his creed when he passes an Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, and political liberty is his creed when he agrees with Lord Palmerston (when the two agree their unanimity is wonderful) that the system of police visits to political refugees is suitable to the English climate. All these inconsistencies are discerned accurately enough by the parties who have an interest in disabusing the public of a credulity in conservative liberality; and though there are advantages about a Coalition which includes both the preacher and the frightful example, the influence of the last is in this case likely to be the longest felt. Those interpellations about Kossuth last night were extremely inconvenient to a Government which wanted to look bold advanced

liberalism through the immediately following debate on the third reading of the Rothschild bill. Lord Palmerston jauntily cut the connexion between the Treasury bench and the below the gangway, in refusing proper information upon the prompt and noble appeals of Kossuth's friends—Walmley and Duncombe; and the consequence was, that when Lord John went into the lobby at one in the morning with the Radicals, the Radicals felt not that they were being led, but that the association was as accidental and as unsympathetic as on the previous evening with Mr. Disraeli and Lord Stanley. Lord Palmerston, apologising in a lively way, and, as a matter of politeness, to *cher* Aberdeen for his revolutionary reputation (God knows Lord Palmerston was always maligned and was always a sound *réactionnaire*—only *incompréhensible*) may have been a ceremony contributory to Cabinet council comforts, and the pleasures of that Greenwich whitebait in July, to which statesmen look as the real posterity. But if Lord Palmerston insists on a justification of his tendencies, the subscribers to the portrait must in decency shrink away from his friendship; now, take away liberal Lord Palmerston, and nothing remains but a coalition consisting entirely of frightful examples. This is certain; that the Radicals yesterday evening knew that the Government had been blundering about the Refugees, and inferred from the Home Secretary's too audacious reserve that the Cabinet had stumbled with an intent (Her Majesty's nerves must be consulted now, and dynasties hang oddly together), and equally certain it is that the Radicals were very angry, and that the ten minutes talk between Palmerston, Walmley, T. Duncombe, and Bright, separated the Administration of Lord Aberdeen from the popular sympathies farther than even Mr. Disraeli, with all his knowledge of the men to be operated upon, could that morning, ruminating on his triumph, have contemplated. This was traceable in the succeeding debate; only Mr. Bethell, who is quaintly professional and talks too much in unpunctuated italics to be either quite interesting or quite useful, supported the Government: and his support was as disinterested as the whitebait dinner waiters; and only Mr. Bright supported the bill—a nice distinction, which Mr. Bright made unaffectedly prominent. The fifteenth debate of the same bill could hardly, one would think, be made interesting, and induce much good oratory. But last night should have been the debate, inasmuch as Government is supposed to be calculating whether it shall not resign if defeated by the Lords; and yet the languor of the talk was afflictively impressive. Not that there was no provocation to the Liberals. Only conceive Mr. Bernal Osborne free (I am mistaken in him if he does not now wish he were) replying in hock and soda water tones to Mr. Cumming Bruce, who remarked, in a loud Scotch accent, that he was not "entollerant," inasmuch as he thought the Jews "enteresting" as a people, certainly at present tossed and scattered under the Divine wrath, but doubtless in time to be received into the Divine favour, "and let us not presumptuously accelerate the period!" Was there no provocation to Liberal wit in the absence of Mr. Disraeli, while Mr. Walpole was showing that, if the Jews were admitted into the House of Commons, a Jew might some day be made a Privy-Councillor—a frightful consummation in the eyes of a Protestant gentleman? But Mr. Osborne is busy victualling the navy with pork, in fine contempt for the prejudices of his ancestors; and Mr. Bright is too savage to be satirical. Of his powerful logic, his daring invective, and his overwhelming sneers, as adduced last night, let Manchester, however, be proud, as it is her inclination to be; and above all, let Radical constituencies who prefer Whigs because your William William are laughed or jeered down, as they deserve to be, observe that Mr. Bright made his speech last night in as full a House, half full only when he rose, as Sir Robert Peel could get in his Free-trade days; and that the ultra Quaker, ultra democratic gentleman, advocating negative Christianity, and attacking the House of Lords, the Bishops, and the respectable interests, was as patiently and as deferentially listened to as Prince Albert when he tells Lord Clarendon what his young friend the Emperor of Austria says of Louis Kossuth. So much for great ability when it condescends to have patience, and to study the forms of Parliamentary good breeding. Five years ago, John Bright had a worse hearing than pathetical Mr. Murrough could get now. Three years ago only, Lord John Russell complained feelingly of Mr. Bright's violent manners and narrow mind. Last night Lord John, blushing for his passion for religious liberty, could not find words strong enough to express his admiration for the most accomplished of tribunes, who has become also the most exquisite of elocutionists, and the most impressive of gentlemen.

But, despite the intense commiseration of the Cabinet for Jews, what is occurring, in illustration of

coalition tendencies in other directions, is slowly damaging both the individual and collective position of Ministers in the country. This eagerness to take advantage of Kossuth's supposed indiscretion to placate Austria does not look well in Lords who are, *par excellence*, the "Ministers of England;" and testing their principles by their details, there are other awkward inferences. There seems, in the first place, a careful management of the "corruption" material, which is being turned up, so as to damage the Reform cause—Lord John putting up his Vernon Smiths and Laboucheres, to hesitate suspicions of the results of a further extension of the suffrage; and, in the next place, the small educational bill, the anti-press opposition, the attempt to shirk the Indian responsibility, and the postponement or putting on one side of all other pressing great topics, all show that an effect of a coalition is the effect of too numerous a corps of cooks. Departmentally, there is progress and success. Sir James Graham at the Admiralty, Mr. Cardwell at the Board of Trade, the Duke of Newcastle at the Colonial Office, and Lord Palmerston (*cide* his activity on behalf of Austria) at the Home Office, are doing wonders. But there is no trace of any oneness in the Cabinet—no hint that all the talents can resolve themselves into one genius, and conceive worthily the greatness of their duties and their opportunities, as a Government. There is pettiness in the attempt to deal with the election exposures; there is a little mind in the education bill; and there is more reason to fear that we are to have a Budget without any of the elements of grand finance. The shame to the Treasury bench, on Thursday, was not in the numbers, but in the wretched drivel of Lord John Russell, and the pedantic, fidgetty deprecations of Mr. Gladstone, who has sunk too soon into the cant of Chancellors of the Exchequer, and too readily shirked his responsibility as a somewhat trusted and petted statesman, by the affectation of scrupulosity as guardian of a revenue which experience shows bears very well too much minute meddling. It was said, on Thursday night, after the divisions, that Government knew they were to be beaten, courted defeat, and provoked it purposely, and in the simulated degradation had some deep design, which leading journals will be requested not to penetrate. It is undoubtedly true that it was well known on Thursday morning that the Tories would "dodge" on the first resolution; that the brigade led by newspaper proprietors would go with Mr. Gibson on all the resolutions; and that if so, Ministers could not escape. But the speeches of the Ministers in the debate, while they indicate apprehensions, indicate no tact: for Mr. Gladstone was angrily obstinate, Mr. Sidney Herbert furious with Mr. Disraeli, and Lord John took no pains to anticipate Lord Robert Grosvenor in warning Liberals not to play the game of the Tories. And what are we to think of a Cabinet which is so stupidly destitute of adroitness as to quarrel with the House for 180,000£—knowing when they enter the fight that they are certain to be beaten, and that the consequence of the defeat would be to weaken their own position when they come to the Budget? Messrs. Gladstone and Herbert, and the Duke of Newcastle, at once as newspaper proprietors and as Ministers of the Crown, might be glad to get the advertisement duty off, and yet be afraid to provoke an opponent in the press who wants no change; but if they did seek to have the abolition forced on them, they might, at least, have arranged for a more dignified retreat than they were able to command after Mr. Disraeli had spoken for the Tories, and Mr. Maguire for the Brigade. Very slight satisfaction can be obtained by denouncing Mr. Disraeli's "impudence." His effrontery was sublime, no doubt: his cool dishonesty deserved the hysterical reproaches of bewildered Lord Robert Grosvenor, who was shocked at the idea of voting for the motion if there was a chance of its being carried. But if the effrontery is successful, Mr. Disraeli is laughed with, and not laughed at: and though Mr. Gladstone's clerks will sympathise with him—having to get a brand new Budget out by Monday—they will nevertheless join the pleased public, and grin among themselves. The strongest of Governments cannot afford to look ludicrous; and Mr. Gladstone's perplexity, despite the tragic rebuke which he now frowns, is excessively amusing. Mr. Disraeli, in his dexterous speech, confessed, in accounting for his readiness to face a cheap and universal press, that he and his party did not appeal merely to the reason of mankind; they address themselves also to the feelings—as in offering dear loaves, say: and an admiring country, while it will condemn the logic of Mr. Disraeli's conduct, will be apt to enjoy very heartily its point. Lord Robert Grosvenor was astonished at the right honourable gentleman; the conduct of the right honourable gentleman, sir, can only lower the character of public men—the Government that was about to be beaten cheering the sentiment vehemently. But Mr.

Disraeli has never in his career aimed at the elaborate and at present he is devoting all his attention to taming and torturing men who are conceitedly too easy, in whose liberality he does not believe any more than he does in Lord Derby's, and who, to get in, put him out. The character of public men is far more injured by liberal statesmen turning Austrian spies, and by a Government, pledging itself to education, carelessly refusing to take excise shackles of the diffusion of knowledge; and most of all, the character of public men suffers by such a manifestation of blockheadism as blindly inviting debate on a popular question. The character of public men suffers from public men twaddling; and if we get over the routine deference we pay to men in position, we shall find that Lord John twaddled in his move to Mr. Gibson and Mr. Bright. Contrast the manner and the statesman-ship of the speeches of the Manchester school, imperfect as that school is in many respects, with the speeches of Ministers—make every allowance for the position of guardians of the revenue—and you will see that both Lord John and Mr. Gladstone fail in an appreciation of the spirit of their time. As to Mr. Gibson, so unpretending as to put his common sense almost as contemptuous, he nearly roused enthusiasm. The question should perhaps, in strict propriety, be in the hands of one of the many journalists who are now in the House. There are more journalists in the present House of Commons than ever were in Louis Philippe's Chamber of Deputies. But the advantages of a disinterested advocacy are manifold, and it is just to say that Mr. Gibson has mastered the controversy in a wonderful way. He exhausted the question on Thursday, and so cleverly mixed up his abstract argument and practical illustrations that he was interesting, lively, and cheered by a tolerably full House to his last sentence; achieving thus an oratorical success which many much able and greater men might be proud of. If it committed a fault, it was in assuming that the House had confidence in the people, which he did throughout, whereas foreseeing defeat on the two weighty resolutions, he should have appealed to the people against the House, and dared the truth. But his faith in the faith of the House would appear to be a fact. He was speaking of the frauds on the Post-office, and went on to say, he did not think that unstamped publications were frequently sent through the post; "for my opinion is that there is a great indisposition among Englishmen generally to defraud any branch of the revenue." Thereat the whole House, of all sides, people's arts included, burst into a joyous yell of laughter at Mr. Gibson's simplicity. Mr. Gibson was puzzled, saved, stopped, but could not make it out, and went on again. But the moral of the yell was plain enough; the Commons House, which also cheers and crows Smith, and admits with Labouchere that there may be a few honest men in Hull, has no great belief in the public virtue of the Common; and if Mr. Gibson had had more self-possession, which you could hardly expect of him, in the ill swing of his argument, he would have taken a note of the fact, and parenthetically communicated it for its benefit of the enlightened people. Mr. Bright made also a telling speech; and though it might be too violent that his reason for wanting the taxes off knowledge was that, when they were off, there might be a Manchester school daily paper in London,—and it is very odd that Manchester can never get a London gas platform,—his trenchant syllogisms were none the less effective that we could detect his motive; (now, why should not Mr. Bright dictate a morning paper in London, as well as half-a-dozen weekly papers in the provinces? Third in the Manchester ruminate cause Mr. Cobden, and he was very partial, offering to make a bargain with Government and to give up educational grants if they would save him free the educational machinery of the press. There was "a laugh" at that; but there was a *lamm* point in it, which should have told more of that little-earring assembly. Mr. Cobden, however, made a strange omission in his speech: he did not say, as he did in his late Leeds speech, that the newspapers he wants must publish without opinions; or, other words, that what he means by enfranchisement of the press is the multiplication of uncriticised oratio of Richard Cobden. The Member for the West Riding would go down to posterity as a Demosthenes—without notes: a desire which indicates improper unfamiliarity with the difficulties of education, and less consideration for posterity than is usual with that most conscientious of men.

Incapacity for bold action—is that first function of government—lending the nation—is too visible in the fatuous and feeble proceedings suggested or acquiesced in by Lord John Russell in regard to the election petitions. Confusion and contrivance is still going on: commission after commission issuing upon opposite

grounds; committee after committee is reporting differently on the same character of evidence; and yet the official "leader," to whom others look in their non-responsibility or their helplessness, is not only doing nothing, but he appears unconscious that it is not his function to propose system and principle where now there is neither one nor the other. And the difficulty is only beginning, for when the Commissioners have reported, with the possibility of only reporting in one way, the disfranchisement begins; and the already captious tone of the Lords, even in such a case as that of Canterbury, promises very combative conferences between the two Houses. In fact, we shall be in the middle of general disfranchisement about the time (early next session) when a contemporaneous extension of the suffrage is due; and what a fine spectacle it will be for an enlightened nation to have this sort of "votes" in circulation:—Monday, orders of the day: 1. Parliamentary Reform Bill (Lord John Russell), second reading. 2. Disfranchisement of Hull (Lord John Russell). Friday: 1. Parliamentary Reform Bill Committee. 2. Disfranchisement of Liverpool (Mr. Cardwell). Yet that is exactly the catastrophe impending, and for which no one seems preparing; so that we have only two things to think of Ministers; either that they are very great blunderers, or they intend to arrange excuses for another year's adjustment of the long promised reform of the Reform Bill. But they are developing themselves in unexpected ways; and we may make them out better by and bye. They have gone down so much lately in estimation, although powerfully indirect and in the Lord Robert Grosvenor class of votes, that unless they retrieve themselves by a broad, comprehensive Budget on Monday, their prestige will go. Canada Clergy Reserves Bills, however eloquently and heavily enforced on attention by Mr. Balfour and Jew Enfranchisement Bills, and Mill Education Bills, however confidently put by the complacent Russell, will not suffice without vigour in radical matters too; and on the other hand, "administrative ability," which is the forte of the coalition, and which is only manifested in back bureaux, does not balance bad appearances in public, for a bureau is, after all, only a place for a rehearsal. Mr. Disraeli is missing no chance, and Mr. Disraeli is not the only mischievous person who is glad of a fracas for the sake of the noise. There is the Brigade, to which, obviously, we are indebted for carrying Mr. Gibson's first resolution, and which holds its power of turning the scales between English factions. Its members are only waiting to conclude with the annoyance of proving their "qualifications" before Committees, ere they commence their reckless and ruinous assaults on Downing-street. Mr. Serjeant Shee, Attorney-General of the Brigade, has a notice on the paper of a motion to repeal the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill; and if that apple of discord is once thrown on to the Cabinet council table, the coalition will commence contentions ending, it is not impossible, in the crisis for which Mr. Disraeli is so anxious. So that altogether Ministers will have a good deal to do to get over the consequences of this week.

Saturday Morning.

TENDENCIES OF THE NEW FINANCIAL POLICY.

(From a Correspondent.)

THE plan of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, for a change in the form of part of the national debt, is now so well known, that, for our present purpose, a very brief description of it will suffice. At the pleasure of the holders, a certain portion of three per cent. stock may be either redeemed or converted into any of the three following forms:—1st, a stock bearing 3½ per cent. interest, of which £21,100, will be given for each 1000. of the old stock; or, 2ndly, a stock bearing 2½ per cent. interest, of which 1100. will be given for each 1000. of the old stock; or, 3rdly, Exchequer bonds, exchanged for the old stock, at par of the capital, transferable by mere delivery, bearing 2½ per cent. interest, possibly up to, but not beyond, 1864; and 2½ per cent. up to 1864, with coupons attached. The attendant conditions of the conversion we will advert to, as our argument may require.

It has been shown, that there is little probability of the conversion taking place, to any great extent, in the new 3½ per cent. stock, while the 2½ is open; for, while the former gives an interest of 21.17s. 9d. per cent., on the old capital of 1000., with a claim for only 82l. 10s., at the end of forty years, the latter gives an interest of 24.15s. per cent., very little less than the other, with a claim, at the same period, for 1100l. The advantage is too great, and too obvious, to permit any doubt as to the result.

Before we proceed, we may express a suspicion that a mistake has been made in the statement of the terms really intended, and that the new capital was meant to bear an interest of 2½ per cent., not on its own amount of 1100l., but on that of the 1000. of 3 per cent. stock, with which it is to be purchased; that is, that the new stock should bear an interest of about 2½ per cent. But, however such an intention might have comported better than the actual proposition, with the general objects of the measure, there is no trace of it beyond its intrinsic propriety, and we have to deal with the proposition as it stands.

It was at once objected, that the new 2½ per cent. stock, most likely of all to be taken, would add 10 per cent. to the capital of the debt. The fact that it did so, for a very inadequate reduction of the current interest, was no more than an aggravation of the main objection, which was directed against any augmentation of the principal whatever. To this, Mr. James Wilson, one of the Secretaries of the Treasury, made two replies, which require examination. The first is, that, in the forty years during which this stock is to be irredeemable, the 5s. per cent. per annum, saved in the interest, will exactly amount to the 10l. added to the capital, besides the comparatively small effect of compound interest on the annual savings. But, if so, then the process is not a reduction of interest, but a transmutation of interest into capital, and nothing more. The argument would have applied just as well, if any other figures had been chosen for interest and capital, provided only that they fitted each other. Raise the capital to 1400l., at the end of forty years, and sink the interest to 2 per cent.,—or, raise it to 2200l., and abolish the interest altogether, and you have the same result. But what then? Only this: you have augmented the future payment of capital, for the sake of a present relief in interest. The objection is not touched.

As to laying up the 5s. per cent. per annum in the hands of the Government, in order to provide for the payment of the extra 10l., at the end of forty years, when did ever nation or government pay the slightest respect to the original purpose of such a fund, when once it became convenient to use the accumulation? A balance in the Exchequer is always the signal for some new expense, or some diminution of taxes. The 5s. will either be not paid, or it will be spent, and so we come to the old conclusion again,—the capital is increased, that the interest may be diminished; our successors are to pay more, they may either pay less, or spend on ourselves what we do pay.

The other answer of Mr. Wilson is, that it is of far greater importance to diminish the interest than the principal, inasmuch as the interest is demandable, but the principal is not. We must pay the interest, but nobody has a claim on us, against our will, for the capital. This view of the question tacitly assumes the perpetual existence of the debt. The national debt has existed so long that we unconsciously look on it as an institution, nay more, as an integral part of our corporate existence, a necessity of nature, like air, light, or limbs. We rarely think of it as an evil, and never as an evil whose remedy lies within our reach. We never consider the harm it does us beyond the mere amount of taxes we pay for the interest on it, which is probably not amongst the greatest of its injurious consequences. That it complicates and falsifies our whole system of taxation; that it renders the application of sound principles difficult; that it nourishes the existence of a large class who live without the salutary cares and hopes of industry or business; these and other effects of the debt might well stimulate every effort for its diminution, and may at least require that any attempt at present relief by increasing the difficulty of redeeming it, be peremptorily resisted.

Mr. Wilson's argument assumes, although it would hardly dare to assert, that we can pay the interest, but cannot discharge the principal. But on this supposition the plan itself cannot be made to work; for nobody would accept a diminished interest on an increased capital who really believed that the capital itself would not be paid. The very possibility of carrying into effect the diminution of interest on the plan proposed, depends on the belief that the old capital debt, with 100. per cent. additional, can and will be discharged. Without this belief there is nothing to induce the acceptance of the commuted interest.

With other points before us to be discussed, of equal importance and more pressing interest, we cannot now pursue this subject. Its gravity, however, will compel us to return to it hereafter.

The third alternative offered to holders of the present three per cents. is that of Treasury Bonds, such as we have already described them. The main feature of this part of the plan is that, as far as it goes, it mobilizes the debt; the consequences of so doing appear not to have attracted due attention. The commercial crisis of 1825, and the measures which followed, supply ample reasons for looking with suspicion on a plan which strongly tends to reproduce the evils of that time. Our views on this point require some preliminary explanation.

Of all the elements of our productive power, labour and personal skill are actually the most plentiful, but the most slowly augmented; while capital applicable to the employment of labour and skill is not so plentiful as fully to employ them, but is easily supplemented, and in effect augmented, by credit, and at times is freely so supplemented. That this is the true state of the case is evident from this,—that on an extension of credit in any form our products increase much more rapidly than labour and skill can be supposed to increase; there must therefore always be a large reserve of labour and skill ready to be called into instant action by an accession of working capital or its substitute, credit.

Now, along with this state of our productive powers, ever ready on any accession of floating capital, actual or substitutory, to start into greatly increased activity, look at the extent and character of our markets;—limited to coasts and rivers, the great interiors of the world shut up for want of roads in some cases, and of safety or of freedom in others; or in other cases (an increasing class) gradually supplying themselves with goods to our exclusion. While then our power of production is capable of rapid and indefinite expansion, our markets are strictly bound-up and limited.

When the expulsive productive power, under the stimulus of abundant floating capital, real or in the nature of credit, has filled to overflowing the bound-up and limited markets, and cannot force its goods into the interiors for want of the means of bringing down in payment the heavy produce of tropical countries and little advanced communities, then comes a commercial crisis, a panic;—the commercial agents break down under engagements which,

from natural circumstances, it has become impossible for them to fulfil.

Let it again be remembered, that the accession to the quantity of goods produced comes of the accession to the capital which can be devoted to the purpose, or to its substitute, credit. The particular form which the stimulus assumes, is that of a general rise of prices: every man who has made goods finds he has realized a profit, perhaps greater than he expected; but the rise has actually come of an increase in the proximate purchasing power of the commercial agency, not of an increase in the distant actual consumption. The latter is unaffected, and eventually fails to carry out its necessary part of the process; it is the former which supplies the immediate stimulus to the manufacturer to increase his produce.

With an industrial system, of which these are essential features, we have at present an influx of gold, which is of itself sufficient to carry our productive capabilities far beyond the gauge of our markets. What, then, will be the effect of adding 30 millions of mobilized debt to the capital already available for active production? Nothing less, we apprehend, than a fever excited to madness. We are already within the uncontrollable, although not very conspicuous, acceleration of the descent to the rapid; and Mr. Gladstone, with the best intentions, we believe, puts out an oar to pull us still faster in the same direction.

The danger, however, lies still more in the indefinite and seductive character of the measure, than in the effect of the first 30 millions to which it is to apply. That effect will be the very agreeable one of a rise of prices—that is, however, of a rise of prices at home, without corresponding consequences abroad. Then comes difficulty, for which a ready relief will present itself in a new mobilization. The evil, ever growing, is easily disguised and covered up for a time by a new addition to its cause; but the end must come, and the severity of the crash will be proportional to the intensity of the stimulus to production, and the time during which expedients of the day have permitted it to accumulate the consequences.

Closely connected with this consideration is another, which renders caution doubly necessary. To provide for changes which cannot be foreseen, Mr. Gladstone proposes that much of this power of mobilization should be left with the Government. If all the views we have just expressed are not entirely unfounded, the proposition of Mr. Gladstone, made, we fully believe, in all sincerity and right-mindedness, would really place in the hands of the Government for the time being a power of control over the entire economies of the country, such as no Government ever possessed before, and as no Government could possibly exercise but for unmeasured evil.

The plan proposed, as far as it relates to Treasury bonds, amounts to an entire reversal of the policy which extinguished one-pound notes, which regulated the Bank of England, and which generally tended to restrain the organization of commercial credit. In as far as that policy was an interference with private judgment as to the mode of individual operation, we hold it to have been unsound in principle and detrimental in effect; but such a reversal of it as places powers of an artificial character in the unstable and ill-informed hands of the Government of the day, which in their natural state were refused to every man in view of his own position, and with regard to his own affairs, we believe to be one of the greatest errors into which modern British legislation can be led.

"ABUSES OF CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT."

"THE abuses which peculiarly belong to the forms of constitutional Government," was the phrase used by Lord Malmesbury in repudiating Lord Stanley's plan of examination for diplomatic candidates. Lord Malmesbury was scarcely under the necessity of repudiating even the abuses of constitutional Government. Whatever they may be, they must be quite different from those abuses which would claim Lord Malmesbury's respect—such as eulogies on the glory of the two Napoleons, or such as the employment of police to play the spy upon patriots. If we are to have "paternal" Government amongst us, let us understand the extent to which it is to be carried.

Is it to regulate our clothing—hats, for instance? If so, the hat wearers of the metropolis are not the only persons interested, the hat makers should ask for early intimation of the facts. "The hat makers of Munich have petitioned the Municipal Council to decide what sort of hats they may sell, since all hats of an unusual shape are constantly seized by the police. After some discussion the Council declared itself incompetent to decide on the question." It is reserved for a higher authority.

Our police has not yet got to hats, though it has long had newspapers under its control, through the stamp-tax; it has now got to cabs; it possesses its spies, and there are some doubts whether it has not got back into the Post-office.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

F. N. is technically right in the objection which he takes to the use of a particular title. If he has read our journal previously, he will have observed that we habitually draw the distinction at which he points. As a gentleman, however, he will perceive the difference between abstinence from using a particular title too generally, and the revocation of that title when it has been accidentally employed. In the latter case it becomes not only a pedantry, but an affront. Practically, however, there has been no imposition in the case, either on ourselves or the reader.

GALLIO's letter is too bulky. If he can pack it closer, we may find room for its insertion. The M.S. is left for him at the office. We are again compelled by extraordinary pressure of political matter to postpone insertion of several letters, &c., already in type.

Literature.

Critics are not the legislators, but the judges and police of literature. They do not make laws—they interpret and try to enforce them.—*Edinburgh Review*.

THE great subject of Literary conversation this week has been the maladministration of that excellent but perverted institution, the *Literary Fund*, a fund small enough indeed, and little commensurate with the wants it professes to alleviate, but made still smaller by the abuses which have crept into this, as they creep into every institution not rigorously watched over by the public press. In England, however, we have the immense advantage of a Press, and a press which, with all its shortcomings, nobly fulfils its office. The *Athenæum*, for example, has courageously and untiringly pursued the glaring abuses of the *Literary Fund's* administration, and has drawn other journals to its aid; even that journal of journals, the *Times*, has this week lent its influence, so now one may hope for a reform.

We have touched on this subject before, and recur to it for the sake of repeating some of the facts and figures brought forward by the *Athenæum*. To begin with figures:—

"We have before us the balance-sheets, signed by the auditors, from 1846 to 1852, inclusive. From these it appears that the Fund has received in those seven years from rents and dividends, the interest of capital and property, 7164*l.* 16*s.* 7*d.*; by bequests, 294*l.* 10*s.*; and by donations and subscriptions, 6703*l.* 1*s.*; making a total of 14,158*l.* 7*s.* 7*d.* From this total sum there has been given in relief to 302 claimants—to whom we know not, but we will assume them to have been men of "learning and genius"—the sum of 9352*l.*; leaving a balance of 4806*l.* 7*s.* 7*d.* Here, then, there was nearly 5000*l.* more in the hands of the Committee for benevolent purposes than there were claimants on whom to bestow it.

"What became of this surplus? It appears, that 909*l.* went to swell that reserve fund which already amounts to 35,000*l.* or 40,000*l.*; and the whole of the remainder—and more, as we shall show—was swallowed up in the expenses of collecting and distributing the 9352*l.*"

Is it not monstrous that a fund raised for the relief of the poor scholar should be so managed that—

"This benevolent Committee draw, on an average, 43 benevolent drafts a year, at an average of 31*l.* a draft; and the cost is, also on the average, more than 13*l.* 4*s.* 8*d.* for each and every benevolent draft of 31*l.*!"

The expenses of printing, postage, salary, rooms, &c., of another institution—*The Artists' General Benevolent Fund*—are shown to be 93*l.* per annum, while those of the *Literary Fund* are 500*l.* per annum. To state these things is enough to show the miserable administration of the charity; but even they are insignificant, compared with other items in the charge made against the society, as the reader will say on reading this:—

"Perhaps he may not have heard, that the Society has generously relieved two widows of one man,—nor that it has granted relief to enable an ingenious youth to pursue his studies and become a 'poor scholar,'—he may not have heard, that ladies have been relieved who were shortly after sent to the tread-mill as begging-letter impostors,—he may not know, that probably one-third of the 'poor scholars' relieved had no more scholarship than enabled them to compile or write sixpenny story-books for children—that there used to be a suspicion that persons were sometimes relieved as authors of works which were never heard of out of the rooms of the Society,—he may not know, that the largest amount ever granted—double the amount that, at the time, had ever been granted either to 'poor scholars' or to men of 'learning and genius'—was to the widow of a member of the Committee, within one month of her husband's death; that same husband, according to the showing of his will, having few or no debts, and having always had sufficient at his bankers to meet the requirements of the hour, and bequeathing to his wife and children 7000*l.*! He may not have heard of these or a hundred other liberalities enacted with closed doors and protected from publicity by the delicacies of the Fund and its Committee."

"Closed doors and protected from publicity," there lies the evil. It will be said that one of the features of this society is the delicacy with which it secretly relieves distress; the poor scholar is relieved, and not humiliated; the plenteous hand is outstretched to him, and no one hears of it. This is false; it is false in principle and false in fact. There is little or no secrecy observed. The fact of relief is always known to a large body of the public, as every literary man will testify. And, moreover, we emphatically declare that the secrecy, if it could be kept, would not be delicate. It is an indelicate delicacy which would desire secrecy. If the poor scholar, smitten with disease, or pressed by want, feels shame in accepting the gracious assistance of wealthier men who have subscribed money to meet such cases as his, he ought not to accept it. He should not do what he is ashamed to have known!

Another evil, and one which in our days becomes enormous, on account of the immense increase of periodical literature, is the absurdly pedantic limitation implied in the principle that no man shall be considered as a claimant on the fund unless he have published a book.

"Any book will do; but whole acres of contributions to Encyclopedias, Newspapers, Magazines, Reviews—a life worthily and laboriously spent in fighting with the pen the great battle of social education—all these are worth nothing. Why, Mr. Adams himself, our great astronomer—whose title to be 'a man of learning and genius' is written among the stars, and has been read by every nation in Europe that looks up to them—were he compelled, in the vicissitudes which rule below those stars, to knock, for its own peculiar and prescribed form of recognition, at the door of this Fund,—might be turned inhospitably away because he had not written a book,—disfranchised by a bye-law,—his title-deeds made waste-paper by his own trustee. A man may have blinded himself in preparing some learned work;—but the blindness which arrested the completion of the work, at once deprived him of the harvest for which he had so long laboured and closed the doors of the *Literary Fund* against him."

MACAULAY and CARLYLE, a few years ago, though known wherever the English literature was prized, would not have come within this definition of a Literary Man. They had written in reviews, but they had published no books! And how many names familiar to all—names of men to whom our literature and science are constantly indebted—are by this bye-law struck from off the lists!

There is something to our minds peculiarly significant in the *revelation* of immorality which French novels and French plays often exhibit. The straightforward disregard of decency and honesty sometimes shown, is as nothing compared with the little expressions which escape the unconscious writer. The one may be supposed necessary for the "interest" and "excitement" of the work, the other is a real betrayal. A novelist, for example, may make his blackguard interesting and his cut-throat amiable, without our inferring that he is destitute of moral sense; as an orator may talk terrible nonsense about "tyrants" and the "vile multitude" without our suspecting a deficiency of human sympathy. But as you detect a man's insincerity by the twinkle in the corner of his eye, and a certain indescribable something in the accent of his voice, so may you detect the writer's moral standard in an occasional phrase. To our minds, there is nothing more impure in BALZAC, who dealt liberally in hideous subjects, than his describing one of his heroines (a virtuous and model mother) as having for her son the winning ways of a courtesan,—"elle avait pour son fils les grâces d'une courtisane!" It is but a phrase, but what a state of feeling it implies!

We were led into this moralizing by a passage in the young DUMAS's new volume of *Contes et Nouvelles*. The story from which we take it is a pretty, and, in what is called "the moral," a moral story; but the unconscious revelation we leave for your judgment; a married woman is writing to her lover, explaining why she will not follow him. "I am not free," she says; "my family, society, public opinion, and, must I say it? my husband, too, have claims on me: *Je ne suis pas libre, j'appartiens à ma famille, au monde, à l'opinion, et dois-je le dire? à mon mari!* The quiet, careless way with which the husband is slipped in here among the considerations which prevent her elopement, is amazing. *Pauvres mari!*"

HORACE.

The Odes of Horace, translated into unrhymed metres, with Introductions and Notes. By F. W. Newman.

Quinti Horatii Flacci Opera Omnia. With a Commentary. By the Rev. A. J. Maclean.

HORACE—the hatred of schoolboys and the delight of grown men—the one classic who may be called a companion; who was neither a great poet, nor a noble man, but whose long experience is expressed in facile verse of a light, and sometimes even poetic, tone; furnishing happy images and happier phrases for most of the incidents of ordinary life; who teaches us, as Voltaire says in his *Epistle to Horace*:—

"A jouir sagement d'une honnête opulence,
A vivre avec soi-même, à servir ses amis,
A se moquer un peu de ses sots ennemis,
A sortir d'une vie ou triste, ou fortunée,
En rendant grâce aux dieux de nous l'avoir donnée."

(verses Horace himself might have written), is among the few poets utterly untranslatable, yet desirable to have translated. Ovid's love stories, Virgil's pastorals and epic, Lucretius's grand philosophic poem, Lucan's turgid eloquence, and Martial's jokes, may all be rendered so as not absolutely to leave the reader without an inkling of the originals: not so Horace. And for these reasons:—

Translation of poetry we hold to be next to impossible; an imitation, more or less accurate, may be given, or another poem substituted in its place; but so long as poems remain what they are, poems will be untranslatable; for, as Goethe profoundly says, Art depends on Form (*gestaltung*), and you cannot preserve the Form in *altering* the Form. Words, especially in poetry, have a potency of association independent of their significance as representative signs; there is a mingling of sound and sense, a delicacy of shades of meaning, and a power of awakening associations, which the instinct of the poet enables him to control, and which cannot be passed into a foreign language, if the meaning be also preserved. Few Englishmen, for example, can understand the audacity of Racine (so highly applauded by the French), in introducing the words *chien* and *sel* into poetry: dog and salt may be used by us without danger; but on the other hand, we may not talk of *entrails* in the way the French do. Then, again, suppose instead of Leigh Hunt's favourite illustration—

"How sweet the moonlight sleeps upon the bank,"

Shakspeare had written—

"How soft the moonlight slumbers on the bank,"

the idea would have been the same, the metaphor the same, but who does not see the difference in the effect?

Wherever the substance is of equal importance, or nearly equal importance, with the form, the poem bears translation with the loss of only the form; but wherever, as in Horace, it is not the story, the drama, the thought, or the subject-matter which makes the poem interesting, but rather the happy elegance of expression applied to thoughts and feelings of no unusual depth, then translation becomes utterly futile. As well make lace ruffles out of hemp!

Professor Newman is not insensible to this. He says:—

"Undoubtedly a great poet can never be fully translated from a more powerful into a less powerful language; it is as impossible as to execute in soft wood the copy of a marble statue. Yet some approximation may be attained, which gives to the reader not only a knowledge of the substance, but a feeling of the form of thought, and a right conception of the ancient tone of mind. Hitherto our poetical

translators have failed in general, not so much from want of talent or learning, but from aiming to produce poems in *modern style*, through an excessive fear that a modern reader will endure nothing else."

Yet he thinks something may still be done to give the English reader a taste of Horace.

"I avow myself to despair of finding readers among those who seek solely for amusement. I bespeak for myself a thoughtful and serious reader, anxious for instruction. I assume in him no knowledge whatever of ancient languages or literature, except to have read Homer in a translation; and I endeavour to afford whatever is subsidiary to full intelligence,—whatever will aid him to that close insight into men and times, which nothing but contemporary literature can ever give."

He has discarded rhyme, and adopted new metres, not such as correspond with the original (for he rightly sees the fallacy of all modern attempts to write ancient metres), but such as, in his opinion, may represent them. But in discarding rhyme, he has not discarded the periphrasis into which (while excusing) rhyme seduces a writer. Thus, opening the well-thumbed page—

"Mæcenat avatis edite regibus," &c.,

we find—

"O my bulwark and sweet ornament,
Sprung from royalty of Lydian eld."

Not only is this periphrastic, but it is *inaccurate*; the words "bulwark" and "ornament" do not, in any degree, raise up the ideas of the original, "presidium" and "decus." This fault is constant. We do not blame Professor Newman for the fault—we indicate it. Only a poet can translate a poet, and even a poet will not translate with perfect success.

Apart from this general inaccuracy of rendering, which one may expect to find in translation, there are several instances wherein Professor Newman, as it seems to us, goes directly counter to the meaning. Here is one. In the ode to *Nepes*—

"Nox erat, et cœlo fulgebat Luna sereno
Inter minora sidera,
Quum tu, magnorum numen læsura deorum,
In verba jurabas mea,
Arctius atque hedera procerâ adstringitur illex,
Lentis adhærens brachiis,"

is translated thus:—

"'Twas night, and in the sky serene
The Moon among the smaller lights was shining,
When thou, with languid arms to me
Clasp'd nearer than to lofty holm the ivy,
Ev'n thou, a scornor soon to prove
Of mighty gods, my sacred oath didst utter."

There is one beautiful line in this, beautiful also as a translation—

"The moon among the smaller lights was shining;"

but we miss the not unintended *rapprochement* of *minora sidera* and *magnorum deorum*; "a scornor soon to prove," is bad; and "languid arms" decidedly questionable. On it he has this note:—

"*Languid*, is an insufficient translation of the Latin epithet *lentus*, which here means soft, dead, unstrung, yet sticky as glue. I am told that English taste would not bear the phrase 'gluey arms' or even 'torpid arms.'"

Surely, Professor Newman has mistaken the meaning of *lentus* here? Horace could never have spoken of *torpid* arms clinging like the ivy; nor would the English be justified in tolerating "gluey arms." *Lentis brachiis* means "with tender arms," or "clinging arms," anything, in short, but languid.

We will give an entire ode—*Quum tu, Lydia, Têlêphi*—and bid the reader compare it with the original (*Carm. i. 13*):—

"Lydia! when thy tips extol
Têlêphus for neck of rosy tint,
Têlêphus for arms of wax,
How with burning pain my bile o'erflows!
Then nor mind to me nor hue
Sound and firm abides: adown my cheeks
Steals the teardrop, and reveals
Fires that inly smouldering eat my heart.
Stung am I, when tipsy frays
Leave dishonour on thy shoulders bright;
Stung, when'er the frenzied boy
Sears thy lip with self-recording tooth.
Nay,—if mé so far thou hear,—
Hope not constant him, who barbarous mars
Kisses sweet, which Venus' self
Drugs with all her nectar's quintessence.
Happy, thrice and more, are they,
Whom, in bonds unbroken, Faith retains.
Them no foolish evil strife
Rends apart, but Love and Life are one."

"Tipsy frays," conveys none of the peculiarity of *immodica mero rixa*; nor is "sears thy lip with self-recording tooth," a translation of *Impressit memorem dente labris notem*; the tooth records the passion of Têlêphus, not its own existence. The phrase is met with in Catullus:

"Quem basiabis? quod labella mordebis?"

But apart from details, consider this ode, and ask whether, if Horace had written in that style, Professor Newman would now be translating him? We need not await the answer.

One more example, it shall be the last, illustrates the variations of meaning. Horace bids the vessel—

"Interfusa nitentes
Vites aquora Cycladas;"

which runs easily into verse—

"Avoid the seas
That dash amongst the shining Cyclades."

Professor Newman renders it quite as periphrastically as we have done, and without a verse:—

"O mayst thou shun the rocks
Studded close in the Cyclad deep."

From what has been said, it will be gathered that we do not look for much success in rendering Horace the companion of the English reader, either by Professor Newman or another. There are two things possible: a prose translation, useful as a "crib," and a poetic paraphrase delightful in itself; but the man capable of writing the latter would be better employed on original works.

There is a class, however, to whom this volume will not be unacceptable; but it will be so from its scholarship, not from its translations. To that class, also, we commend the second work placed at the head of this article, one of a handsome series, *Bibliotheca Classica*, edited by George Long and Arthur Maclean. It is at once a valuable library edition and an useful college book. The commentary is ample and minute, but not overloaded, as other commentaries are, with those eternal citations repeated from edition to edition. The introductions are erudite, dogmatic, and to the purpose. The fragments of Greek writers to whom Horace is indebted, or supposed to be indebted, are given when attainable, and *six* indexes facilitate reference to the works and notes.

Thus much a brief inspection, critical inspection, enables us to say of Mr. Maclean's *Horace*. To form a more absolute opinion would require weeks of close application, and many columns to substantiate it. We must leave it to scholars to settle its claims.

BONER'S CHAMOIS HUNTING.

Chamois Hunting in the Mountains of Bavaria. By Charles Boner. With Illustrations by Theodore Horschelt, of Munich. Chapman and Hall.

To those who have been carried breathless with interest through Scrope's work on *Deer Stalking*, we commend this as a companion volume. To those, moreover, who, like ourselves, have ineffaceable recollections of happy hours spent among the mountains of Bavaria and the Tyrol, we commend this volume; it is one that will bring up old familiar scenes to the mind, like as when we meet in a foreign land with a compatriot who has left our long unvisited home, and brings with him tidings of those we want to see. Finally, to those who, languid over worn-out tracks of travel, seek for something new to interest, we commend this volume as a fresh, a pleasant, and an instructive companion. Mr. Boner writes with gusto, and writes from experience. He enjoys the bracing air of those icy solitudes, he lingers delighted over their craggy precipices, he enters into the sport with the passion of a sportsman, and has the good taste to avoid the sportsman's slang and Munchausenisms. We stalk with him, hope with him, tremble with him, triumph with him. We make friends of his peasant friends; and almost find ourselves sharing his sportsmanlike "preserving" tendencies.

An extract or two will, better than any criticism, introduce the reader to a proper acquaintance with the book. Here, for example, is a description which will be recognised by every one who has ever been alone among the mountains.

THE WAY O'ER THE MOUNTAINS.

"In the mountains, all is on so large a scale, the stranger is constantly deceiving himself as to distance. A trifling change of position, too, makes everything look quite different. In descending from an eminence, the forms selected as landmarks are at once lost sight of; on getting nearer to the foot of the mountains, the seemingly narrow valley opens into breadth: hill, mound, dell, all unperceived till now, start into sight; you become confused by a multitude of objects not calculated on before, and, having already perhaps deviated from the straight line to evade a precipice or to cross a torrent, are wholly at a loss what direction to take. You look back to reconnoitre the ground and find your starting-point. But it is not to be found: all is changed; other forms are seen up against the sky; no single feature that was there before is now to be recognised. You turn round and ask yourself if in coming downwards yonder peak with snow was not on your right, and you are not sure of the answer, for there is another very like it where snow is also lying:—how then distinguish between them? And if you determine to go straight on toward the distant ridge, on getting there at last after two hours' desperate climbing, all again is like an unknown land, and not a single mountain-top that forms part of the new horizon have you ever beheld before. Landmark you have none—the few you had are now irrecoverably lost. There you stand in vast space, utterly helpless. Far, far around you rise those sharp lines against the sky which bound your present world. How gladly would you look into the space beyond, and strive to catch at hope! But this 'beyond' is shut out from you as impenetrably as that vague unknown which is beyond the grave. And you still keep your look fixed on those impassable barriers: a strange irresistible power seems to rivet your staring eyes upon them, and you gaze on with awe, and dread, and longing!"

"Ay, with awe! for they stand before you, those huge forms, in overpowering, unparticipating stillness. All is motionless. Nothing stirs that forms a part of them. A shadow may flit across their face, but that is an extraneous thing, and when it has swept by, there they are, still in the same cold, rigid imperturbability. If only a tree were there, with its softer outline, and its boughs, though not moving, at least conveying the feeling that they *might* move, as being a thing with life! But no, the hard lines of those fixed features are unrelieved by one milder form; stillness, unwaning stillness, sits on them everlastingly, like Death! And yet you gaze on them with longing;—the longing that with your vision you could penetrate what is beyond. It is a yearning such as the soul feels to know of that 'other side' which will be seen only after death."

Here, again, is a sketch of

HOW WE TRACKED THE CHAMOIS.

"The morning was clear and bright, and not a breath of wind was stirring,—an essential thing for the chamois hunter; for if the air be not calm, all his skill, perseverance, and daring, will avail him nothing. At best even it is difficult to calculate on the gusts that will sometimes come suddenly rising up a chasm, or sweeping downwards just as he gets round a shoulder of a mountain. Thus, when he thinks all is won, and he rejoices in his panting heart at the success which is about to crown his labour, the taint of his presence will be borne along on the rippling air, and the herd on whom for the last hour his longing eye has been so intently fixed

looks round affrighted, conscious of the neighbourhood of an enemy, utters a shrill whistle, and, mounting over the sharp ridge of an opposite mountain, is seen for one moment in bold relief against the sky, and then disappears on the other side. But we had no cause to fear that our hopes would be marred by such a circumstance.

"We had now wound upwards for about an hour, when we left the path and turned off to our right among some latschen and huge blocks of stone. We had not gone many yards when Berger dropped to the earth, as though a shot had passed through his heart. He raised his finger to indicate silence, his eyes were opened wide with expectation, and his lips drawn apart as if uttering a 'Hush!' though not a breath passed over them. We covered behind the stones, and he whispered, 'There are chamois!' We crept on a little further; the end of my pole shod with iron touched a stone and made the metal slightly ring. Berger turned round with a reproving look, and made me a sign to exchange mine for his, which was not shod. We advanced and lay behind a bush, and drew out our glasses. Five chamois were there, grazing on the slope, skirted by a wood. Berger's whole frame was alive with expectation; his face wore quite a different expression to what it had before; his eyes seemed larger, his body more supple, his powers of motion other than in everyday life—the whole creature was changed. 'Now then,' he said, 'come along, quick and schön stad!' (quickly and nicely quiet). We moved on, but a breath of air stirred, and they must have got wind of us, for they began to move towards the wood, and soon disappeared within it. There was now nothing to be done but to go round and get above them, for it was late, and the current of air had already set in from below. Just as we had reached the top, I heard a slight rustle, and stopped to listen, when in an instant there was a rushing down the steep and over the broken ground, as of an animal in full flight. By the step I was sure it was deer (hinds), and said so to Berger. They were not chamois—they made too much noise; nor was it the rush of a stag. It must have been a hind.

"You are right," he cried; "there they go! I see them down below—two hinds—they heard us moving along above them."

"Do you think they will take the chamois along with them?"

"No, I think not. We shall most likely meet them further on; if not, we will sit and watch for them."

"This is one of the great difficulties of stalking in the mountains,—to do so almost unheard. Fragments of stone are lying about, latschen with their long trailing branches and dense foliage, or steep beds of *Geröll*, cross your path, which the lightest step will set in motion, and yet you must advance quickly, and pick your way quite noiselessly. I always found the exertion and attention this required fatigued me more than climbing for a longer time when such caution was unnecessary."

"As nothing more was to be seen of the five chamois we had met with on the Steinberg, we sat down and peered into the vast hollow that lay before us. Rising upwards to our left was barren rock, sharp and broken, grey, bare, and weather-beaten: it looked hoary with age."

"Where the rocks ceased to be perpendicular the *geröll* began, and continued far downwards, till here and there latschen began to show themselves. We sat in silence, examining with strained eyes every inch of ground, and looking down among the stunted bushes, and upwards among the crags, in hopes of seeing a chamois that might be lured forth by the cheering sun. From time to time, as one of us fancied that some spot at a distance looked like the object of his search, suddenly out flew the glass, and the other, full of hope and expectation, with eyes turned from the mountain-side to his comrade's face, would watch his countenance as he looked through the telescope, to learn, before he spoke, if a chamois were there or not. He needed not to say, 'Tis nothing!' the other saw this at once, by his expression. But when the glass remained up to the eye some seconds longer than usual, and the Jäger, as he still looked, said, 'Tis chamois! there are three together!' how exciting was the expectation. The glass of each would then instantly be turned in the same direction, to find the spot on which the hopes of both were now centred. 'I have them! One is at rest; the one to the right is a yearling, I think. Now it's among the latschen; now—now he has come forward again. What high horns that other one has!'

"Such are the remarks to be heard on these occasions, made in a subdued voice, uttered quickly, and broken into short sentences—mere ejaculations called forth by the stir of the emotion, by the feelings of the moment, and leaving no time for them to be fashioned into a connected form. But neither of us heard from the other such pleasant tidings; and after having eaten a slice of brown bread and a morsel of goat's-milk cheese, we flung our rifles over our shoulders, and each taking his staff, went down the mountain."

"We looked around on all sides, but not a chamois was to be seen. Before us rose the Roth Wand, now (October 10th) covered with snow; on a verdant patch of pasture land where we stood was a solitary hut, long deserted, and on the mountain side, to our right, it seemed as if some fiend had dug his nails into the ground, and torn away from top to bottom all the earth that he could clutch. Right through the green latschen came a long broad strip of loose stones, some hundred feet in width."

"On going along at the foot of this *geröll*, Berger suddenly stopped, and dropping behind a large block of stone, whispered, 'There's a chamois!' High up among the *debris* a black spot was visible, and this was the chamois. We saw by our glasses that it was a yearling buck, and for a time watched him at our ease, as we lay on the ground protected by the fragment of fallen rock. It stood at gaze for a moment."

"Does it see us?" I asked; "does it look this way?"

"No," said Berger, "but the thing is how to get near it. Up the stones we can't go—it will make too much noise; and if we cross over the crest of the mountain, and so work down towards him, it will be too far to fire. If we could only get up through the latschen! but I fear it is impossible,—he would be sure to see us. However, let us try: be still, very still."

"We were just on the point of making the attempt, when, on looking round to scan the sides of the Roth Wand, I saw a chamois about five hundred feet below the summit, on a green spot quite free from snow, and at the foot of a wall of rock. 'Hist, Berger! there are chamois!'

"Where?"

"Look up yonder; don't you see them?"

"No."

"Look, don't you see a black spot, right across to the right of the *geröll* and the snow. Now it moves! There is another!—one, two, three!"

"I see them now! Confound it,—they see us! Let us move on—don't stop or look; keep away from them, up to the right.' And up we went, keeping in a contrary direction, and then stopped among some large loose stones."

"Look, Berger, now you can see them well; they are crossing the snow, but not quickly. What! don't you see them? Why, now they are moving round the wall of rock that goes down quite perpendicularly; yet now I see but two,—where can the third be?"

"Now I see them. Give me your glass. Make haste and reach those latschen yonder; when once among them, all's right. I'll lie here and watch them, and come after you directly. But for heaven's sake get up the *geröll* quietly, for if a stone move, they'll surely hear it, though so far off; and be quick, and get among the latschen.' Giving him my telescope, which was much the better one, I moved on over the slanting mass of loose stones."

"With body bent as low as possible I tried to creep noiselessly upwards. I dared not use my pole to steady myself, for the weight would have forced it among the loose rubble, and made as much or more noise than my footsteps occasioned. Taking it in my left hand, on which side also my rifle was slung, I staid myself with the right, and so at last reached some larger fragments of stone, which were firmer to the tread, and over which I could consequently get along more rapidly. The sheltering latschen were at length gained, and I flung myself down behind them, quite out of breath with excitement and from moving thus doubled up together."

"In this safe haven Berger soon joined me. 'They are at rest,' he said. 'Now all's right! we have them now! But how shall we get across?' he asked, as he looked around to reconnoitre our position. 'Yonder they'll see us; we must pass over the ridge above, and go round and see if there is a way.'

"This we did, and, once on the other side, kept just sufficiently low down to prevent our heads being seen above the sky-line. But after advancing some hundred yards, we came to a spot where the ridge swept suddenly downwards, forming a gap between us and the chamois. To proceed without being seen was impossible. On our right it was rather steep, but we were obliged to descend a good way, and then the same distance up again further on, in order to reach the Roth Wand unobserved."

"Here we are at last! Are they still at rest, Berger? just look across through the branches of yonder latschen above you."

"Yes, they are still there! Now then, we must get to the pinnacle right over our heads, and they along the ridge, and so have a shot at them from above."

"The shoulder of the mountain where we stood was steep enough certainly, but it still presented sufficient inequalities to enable us to clamber up it. Elsewhere, except on this projecting, buttress-like shoulder, the declivity was so steep as to be not many degrees from the perpendicular. I proposed, therefore, that we should choose this less steep ridge to reach the broken rock above us, on whose jagged forms we might obtain a firm hold, and so creep upwards to the very crest of the mountain. 'Oh, no,' answered Berger; 'we dare not venture that: they would be sure to see us, for we should be quite unsheltered, and our bodies being thrown against the sky, would be distinctly visible. No, we must try yonder—up that *lahne*,' pointing to the steep declivity before us, to see the summit of which, it was necessary to fling the head quite backwards. I confess it was not with the pleasantest feelings that I saw what we had undertaken, for the slope was covered with snow, making the ascent doubly difficult, and upwards of two thousand feet below was a huge rocky chasm, into which I could look and calculate where I might at last stop, if my foot slipped, and I happened to go sliding down. Where the *lahne* ended, beds of loose stones began, and, as if to remind one of their instability, and how hopeless it would be to think of holding fast even for a moment on their moving surface, there rose from minute to minute a low, dull sound, made by some rolling stone, which, set in motion by its own weight, went pattering downwards into the melancholy hollow."

"However, stand looking upwards at the steep snowy surface of the mountain, or gazing at the depth below, was not the way to get a shot at the chamois; so giving my rifle a jerk to send it well up behind my back, and leave the left arm free, I began to mount, keeping in an oblique direction in order to lessen the steepness of the ascent. Berger was before me, sometimes on his hands and knees, sometimes on his feet, and looking every now and then anxiously behind to see what progress I made. Neither of us got on very fast, for a firm footing was impossible. If you slipped, down you came on your face, with both feet nowhere, and the rifle swinging over the left arm into the snow, most inconveniently. Once, when I was quite unable to plant either foot firmly, Berger, who was just above me, and had, as it seemed, a safe spot on which to stand, was obliged to let down his long pole that I might hold on by it, and, with his heels well dug into the ground, gave me a helping pull. We had mounted half-way when suddenly both my feet lost their hold on the snow, and somehow or other down I went over the steep declivity on my back, like an arrow sent from a strongly-drawn bow. It was disagreeable, for I knew how difficult it is to stop when once gliding at full speed down a *lahne*; and all my endeavours to do so, with help of my heels or my hands were ineffectual. But I remembered the advice my friend Kobell had once given me: 'Should you ever be unlucky enough to slip when upon a *lahne*, turn round so as to get on your stomach as quickly as possible, or else you are lost.' While shooting downwards therefore I turned, and grasping my stick, which was well shod with an iron point, I dashed it with all my force into the ground. It stuck fast; I held on by it, and was stopped in my career. While gliding down, my eyes were turned upwards to Berger. I saw fright expressed on his countenance: our eyes met, but neither uttered a word. Only when I had arrested my further progress, and was cautiously preparing to find a sure footing, he called out, 'It is lucky you were able to stop—for heaven's sake be careful, it is dreadfully slippery.' At last, by making a zigzag line, we reached the top of the *lahne*. Here were rocks by which we could hold, and getting amongst them came to a perpendicular wall about seven feet high. Its face was as straight as a plummet-line, but it was rough, so that some crevices were to be found which might serve as steps in passing over it. At its base was a small ledge, on which one person could stand, holding on with his own face and the face of the rock close against each other, and behind, below, was what was not quite pleasant to think about. Berger got over first, having previously with one hand laid his rifle and pole on a ledge of rock above him to have both hands free. Handing up my rifle to him I followed; and though the place seemed rather formidable, in reality it was easy enough to climb. As I stood on the ledge face to face with the perpendicular rock, I debated within myself whether I should look behind me or not. I knew that below and behind was nothing but air, and I decided on proceeding without turning round; so I looked

for the most favourable crack or roughness in the rock to make a first step, which moment of delay Berger attributed to indecision and to fear; and stretching out his hand to me, he cried roughly, 'Come, what are you thinking of? give me your hand,—that's right. Now then!' He was wrong in his supposition, for I was neither undecided nor afraid, but he feared that if I grew alarmed I might let go my hold; and as the moment was critical he thought to rouse and reassure me by his manner, and by holding my hand firmly in his grasp. 'Patience, Berger! patience! I shall be up in a second; I am only looking for a place to put my foot on; don't think I am giddy. There, now I am up.' And then one of us, lying down at full length, reached with one arm over the ledge of rock, to the spot below where the rifles and poles were lying.

With bended bodies we now stole along the crest of the mountain as noiselessly as possible, for the chamois were below us on our left, just over the ridge. We presently looked over. I could not see them, on account of a projecting rock, but Berger whispered, 'There they are! Quick! they are moving.' Still as we were, they must have heard us coming upon them, and, suspecting danger, were already in motion. But they had not yet whistled. By 'craning' over, as a fox-hunter would say, I just obtained a glimpse of one far below me on a small green spot, and standing at gaze. To fire in this position however was impossible. Berger, all impatience and fearing they would escape, was in a fever of anxiety. 'Look here! can you see them now?' as with the left foot planted on a crag not larger than the palm of my hand, I stood as it were in the air, immediately above the spot where the chamois were. A crack from my rifle was the answer.

There is more of such matter, interspersed among affrays with poachers, sketches of peasant life, and hunter's anecdotes. The illustrations by Herr Horschelt are very spirited, and add very greatly to the beauty and interest of the volume.

Before concluding, we must find room for the following curious observation on

THE EYES OF THE CHAMOIS HUNTER.

'A chamois-hunter has never any superabundant flesh: he is spare of habit, and I have remarked, or perhaps only fancied I did so, that his eye is something peculiar, common to all his class. It has seemed to me that, animated as it is when on the mountain or under the influence of surprise or excitement, at other times when meeting him by chance in common daily intercourse its expression is wanting, as though the feeling that gave it life were slumbering. If there be anything in this beyond mere fancy, I can well account for the circumstance. A chamois-hunter on the plain is like a sailor on shore,—he is surrounded by uncongenial objects, and these and the incidents that exist and take place about him are to him matters of little interest: they in no wise awaken his sympathy. As the seaman is ill at ease on land and wants to be afloat again, so the hunter is impatient to get back to his mountains. There he is at home,—in all that surrounds him he feels an interest. But the flat land and its occupations are to him tame and tedious; so he wanders along, and the sparkle of his eye is dimmed by listlessness. Let however but a sound be heard which calls his attention, and at once the eye is dilated; it is wide open and prominent, the lids drawn far back, and the pupil is seen in a large surrounding space of white. The habit of attentive watching, of ever-constant vigilance, the frequent presence of danger and the narrow escapes from risk—all these cause the eye to acquire a certain fixedness of look, as if it were guarding against surprise. That this is not mere fancy on my part is proved by a circumstance which occurred to me while writing this. After having spent some weeks in the mountains I returned direct to Munich, and the very first observation a friend made on meeting me again was, that my eyes had a different expression: 'You have got,' he said, 'a chamois-hunter's eyes.' He had not, probably, remarked the peculiarity in this class of men as I had done; but he saw something strange in my looks, and knowing where I had been, at once attributed the appearance which so struck him to my recent pursuits."

Mr. Boner adds, in a note:—

'Not a week after penning these lines, I happened to be looking through a volume of Hazlitt, and found the following remarks, which at once reminded me of my own observations on the look of the chamois-hunter. I was very pleased to find them, as they confirmed what I had said. He is speaking of Raphael: 'His figures have always an in-door look . . . and want that wild uncertainty of expression which is connected with the accidents of nature and the changes of the elements.'—The Round Table: On Gusto."

The Arts.

FRENCH PLAYS.

WHAT can I say of Madame Ancelet's thin comedy *Loïsa*, the only novelty we have had at the St. James's? If the acting were as good as it usually is on that agreeable scene, I might elude the difficulty by calling attention to Madlle. Page and her *entourage*; but although Madlle. Page looks pretty, and *naïve*, and charming, and plays with a pleasant propriety as rare as it is agreeable, I cannot grow dithyrambic in her praise; while with the others I am positively exasperated. What have the subscribers done, what have the critics done, (except to be too lenient!) that we should be afflicted with that winking *jeune premier* who calls himself M. Fédé? Where was he picked up? Who made him? Where did he get that voice? those legs? Where was he suffered to exhibit that horrible self-satisfaction without being instantly pilloried? He may throw on his parents, if parents he had, the blame of his extremely unprepossessing appearance, and unendurable voice; but he need not add insult to injury by showing us so glancingly that he believes himself an Adonis and a gentleman of the first water, full of wit and sentiment. At any rate, Mr. Mitchell is not bound by any moral obligation to place such a *jeune premier* before us; unless, indeed, he wishes to give a Spartan lesson to our young gentlemen, by placing before them a picture of what the intoxication of vanity will reduce men to!

We are unhappy enough in our walking gentlemen on the English stage. *A qui le dites vous!* But we have nothing so immensely immodest and unendurable as M. Fédé. And when I add that *Loïsa* has to be played by three *jeunes premiers*—all bad, and one exasperating—coupling that fact with the remark that *Loïsa* is an attenuate comedy of ancient material and the mildest dialogue—you will gather therefrom my difficulty in

saying anything descriptive of it! Could one but fall back upon the old approved method of saying nothing under the guise of recounting the plot! "the plot is as follows"—but I'll trouble you for the "follows!" It was but the other evening I saw this comedy, and the plot, if plot there be, lives not in my memory.

I am more fortunate with

THE DESPERATE GAME.

which is performing now at the Adelphi; for the story is both novel and intelligible, although turning on that often abused pivot "A faint heart never won a fair lady." Who knows? who guarantees that maxim? Does boldness always succeed with the capricious charmers? *J'ai mes doutes*. Many hearts are frightened at boldness—timid fluttering things! and tremble like Horace's fawn—at least I find it so:

Vitas hinnuleo me similis, Mary,
Quærenti pavidam montibus avia
Matrem, non sine vano
Aurum et silus metu!

(There is more of it if you will but look out for it; meanwhile take SPENSER'S imitation:

Like as a hind
Yet flies away of her own feet affared;
And every leaf that shaketh with the least
Murmur of wind, her terror hath encreased.)

But all this is beside my purpose. The adage is an old one, and "age hath still its honor," so let us admit the truth, even though Mary was scared by an adventurous Vivian!

Captain Radcliff is a bold man, who long has loved that loveable Mrs. Summerton, following her footsteps with a retiring modesty, somewhat incongruous when one thinks of his subsequent exploit! Perhaps it was his timidity which made him so audacious; your timid men are the very devil when they do burst through the bonds of restraint; they fly at you like a rat driven up into a corner. There is perhaps nothing so formidable as the spasm of fear! Thus, we will, if you please, assume that the gallant captain (*all* captains are gallant, as all ladies are fair and all mothers-in-law delightful) is constitutionally a timid man, and learning that his ladylove is engaged to be married to her cousin Postlethwaite, who only loves her for the money newly inherited, he, with the audacity of timidity, resolves upon his "desperate game." He enters the house by night, as housebreaker, robs her of 15,000*l.*, her whole fortune; and having thus reduced her to poverty easily persuades the mercenary cousin to relinquish her hand, which he then claims for himself.

Such is the subject of a very amusing and novel farce, which Mr. Morton has adapted from the French with skill, and which Keeley, Leigh Murray, and Miss Woolgar, play with delightful humour.

On Wednesday *Masks and Faces* was brought out at this theatre, and very curious it was to notice the different effects on a different audience of this striking comedy; many of the really "good things" were comparatively unnoticed, whereas some unexpected jokes revealed themselves. In the box next to me there were three persons vastly delighted when *Peg Woffington* said, "bring twenty-four knives, and forty-eight forks"—they repeated it to each other with the *gusto* with which one caresses a witticism! The great novelty of the cast was Madame Celeste as *Peg Woffington*. She played it much better than I had anticipated; but one could not get over the incongruity of the French accent in the mouth of an English—a truly English actress. Her serious passages, especially those of sarcasm, were very effective; but her gaiety wanted geniality and gaiety. The reel was admirable. What a masterly performance is Webster's *Triplet*! How touching in its pathos, how discriminating in its detail!

VIVIAN.

THE OPERA.

THE Royal Italian Opera begins to show symptoms of convalescence. The performance of *Guillaume Tell*, on Thursday last, would have been remarkable even in the great days of the Two Houses; and, so far as the parts of *Arnold* and *Tell* were concerned, exhibited a result probably nearer perfection than any hitherto attained since the first production of the opera. The great event of the evening was the first performance of *Arnold* by Tamberlik. We have attended "the first nights" of more tenors who have sustained this character, both in England and in France, than we can well reckon up—our personal operative experiences of this kind having begun with Duprez. From that great singer downwards (in every sense downwards) no representative of the part of *Arnold* can be compared with Tamberlik. Of all his triumphs since his first appearance in England, the triumph of Thursday night is the most brilliant. Never was his glorious, his unsurpassed, voice more irresistible. Enthusiasts in the higher regions of the house forgot themselves, and shouted, "Bravo," while he was still singing—whisperers in the pit were suppressed indignantly by their ecstatic neighbours—and even the daudies themselves, the imperturbably "swell" young gentlemen with rigid eyebrows and wavy whiskers, condescended, for once in a way, to look pleased and surprised, like ordinary human beings.

The great points in Tamberlik's performance, were his singing of the duet with Ronconi, in the first act, in which he gave the celebrated "*O! Matilde, idole de mon ame*," with the most exquisite sweetness, purity, and delicacy; his acting as well as his singing in the noble trio of the second act (with Ronconi and Formes), which, in one word, was perfection; perfect in its pathos, in its power, in its admirable dramatic expression; and his delivery (*singing* seems a meagre word to express it) of the renowned finale, "*Suivez moi*." Here, his magnificent *vibrato* soared triumphantly over chorus and orchestra. All the difficult high notes in this grand appeal to arms (the despair of every other robust tenor since the time of Duprez), were sung without the slightest appearance of effort, and the famous "high C" at the end rang through the theatre with an effect never to be forgotten by those who heard it, and uproariously acknowledged by a double "recall." If Ronconi had been present on Thursday night, he would incontinently forsake the cultivation of pigs, for the sake of writing a new part for Tamberlik.

Ronconi we have already seen in the character of *Tell*. It will suffice,

therefore, to say, that this artist was worthy, and even more than worthy, of his reputation. His acting throughout the whole of the scene which begins by his braving *Gesler's* authority, is to be ranked, as a consummate triumph of the art, with Macready's fifth act of *Werner*, and Frederick Lemaitre's second act of *Paillasse*.

Formes gave the best of his prodigious voice to the concerted music of the second act, and sang with less of his peculiar mannerism, with less of the hardness and loudness, which we have always felt to be his crying sins, than usual. Madame Castellan looked as harmless as ever, sang as intelligently as ever, and did all the little that could be done with the wretchedly uninteresting and undramatic part to which she was sacrificed, as the *Matilda* of the evening. The minor performers were all careful and satisfactory (criticism has no other words for describing their exertions, no matter of what kind), with the exception of poor Signor Luchesi, who sang the fisherman's barcarole as if he were blowing all the notes on the Pandean pipes, in the august presence of Mr. Punch; and of the illustrious Soldi, who was more disastrously shrill, and more oppressively energetic, than ever. The chorus was generally excellent, saving a moment of unsteadiness in the first act; and the orchestra inspired by the occasion, played with a decision, brilliancy, and ensemble quite infectious, the quick movement in the overture being rapturously encored, as a matter of course.

Few words must suffice for our report of Tuesday evening. Donizetti's most delightful and *hummable* of operas, the *Elisir d'Amore*, was a far more satisfactory performance than the *Barbiere*. Signor Luchesi was only less incompetent as *Nemorino* than as *Almaviva*, because he had less occasion for displaying his incompetence. He scaled a height less perilous, and so his fall was easier. Still, it is fair to say that his voice, worn to a thread, betrayed, even more than on the former occasion, the traces of a finished and elegant style of vocalization—a questionable satisfaction for the audience, who only get the wear and tear. It is exasperating to the more sensitive ears to listen to a singer who is never bad enough to be positively offensive, and whose feebleness excites sensations more of sorrow than of anger in the proverbially indulgent British public. Think of the *Una furtiva lagrima* going off without a single hand—the dead pause of disappointment only broken by the *bravi* of two or three injudicious friends, who contrived to make the failure all the more conspicuous. That delicious air, the very melody of love-sighs, may be said almost to sing itself. When the delicious sobbing of the oboe in the prelude was succeeded by the flat, fatigued straining of a rebellious larynx, it was impossible not to regret that the obligato was not allowed to sing the air—being its own accompanist. Signor Luchesi acted not unpleasingly. Perhaps, however, as he stood with his arms akimbo, smirking at the intrepid roudelles of Madame Bosio, he forgot the bashful peasant, and looked more like a fatuous *bourgeois* admirer accustomed to cheap and facile *bonnes fortunes*.

Tagliafico, the *Belcore* of the night, was careful, effective, and correct, as he always is: we only missed the gay *insouciance* and *debonair* vivacity of the rattling sergeant.

Madame Bosio was in excellent voice, full and clear as the heart of youth; and if you had kept your eyes shut, would have sent you home bewitched with *Adina*; but she was never once *en scène*; her pearly jets of notes dropped from a stalactite. But her final air, the burst of overflowing happiness, would have made amends for greater deficiencies; it narrowly escaped, as it richly deserved, a double encore.

As for the *Dulcamara*, never was he more mischievously enticing—never

more richly enjoyed by his crowd of clients on either side of the footlight. Ronconi's version of the sublime charlatan is, like all his portrayals, at once the broadest and the finest buffoonery: it is an instance of the spontaneity of genius held in check by the continence of the exacting art: a broad conception worked out with infinite minuteness of detail: every look is a study, and every gesture a point: the humour of the whole—caustic, biting, incisive, and yet ever easy and unforced.

On the whole, this *Elisir d'Amore* was a very pleasant affair, though we, who so often complain of the inordinate length of extra nights, did grumble a little, at twenty minutes past ten, to find the house already emptying for the *Fille Mal Gardée*. It is all very well on Saturdays, when we are in mortal fear of Sunday finding us in a state of amusement, but on other evenings, we can 'wait a little longer.'

THE QUARTETT ASSOCIATION

FOUND the just reward of unpretending excellence in a crowded audience at Willis's Rooms, for the first performance of their second season, on Thursday last. Without affectation of exclusiveness, and without fanfare, Messrs. Sainton, Piatti, Cooper, and Hill, have taken a secure hold of the musical public; and their society is now attended with that peculiar respect which only the most unequivocal merit can command. The programme on this occasion consisted of three stringed quartets of Hummel, Mozart, and Mendelssohn, and a pianoforte sonata of Beethoven. The last named (in B flat, op. 106), well known for its immense difficulty, was played by Miss Arabella Goddard, with a quiet mastery and self-possession that took the audience by storm. This accomplished young lady played the first three movements *from memory*; and the learned who followed her with jealous severity, score in hand, may have waited in vain to detect a flaw in an achievement seldom attempted by the miraculous tribe of pianists who have not the disadvantage to be natives. We shall, on a future occasion, give way to some reflections on this subject, without indulging in any cant on the worn topic of "native talent." For the long and intricate fugue which concludes the sonata, Miss Goddard very modestly, but certainly not from necessity, took the text, and so faultless was her execution, that the applause which crowned it seemed to be rather a public than a personal triumph. The quartet of Hummel (in C op. 30), heard for the first time in this country, was led by Mr. Sainton, and that of Mozart (No. 7 in D) which followed, by Mr. Cooper. It is difficult, without risking the appearance of exaggeration, to describe the effect of these performances; such accuracy and finish can only be attained by consummate skill and the most untiring perseverance. The programme concluded with Mendelssohn's quartet in E minor (Op. 44), too well known to need special mention. Mr. Macfarren's analyses of these concerts possesses a more than fugitive interest. They deserve to form a volume on the most interesting shelf of the musician's library. We heartily rejoice in the well assured success of the Quartett Association.

We have one more word to add about a new society full of promise, called the

ORCHESTRAL UNION,

which, under the happy auspices of Mr. Alfred Mellon and Mr. H.C. Cooper, gave the first of three concerts last Saturday. The orchestra is limited, but very select; the programme of Saturday last was equally modest in extent, equally choice in character, and the playing at once vigorous and refined. We shall have more to say about the Orchestral Union. P.

Commercial Affairs.

MONEY MARKET AND CITY INTELLIGENCE.

Friday Evening, April 15, 1853.
A SLIGHT reaction has taken place during the last two or three days, from the stagnation of the last week. Consols were as high yesterday as 100½ to 1, and leave off to-day at 100½. People seem to be waiting on their ears to watch the result of the Chancellor of the Exchequer's proposition for the reduction of the Three-per-Cents, before they invest to any amount in other securities. Railway Shares, particularly Irish lines, have increased in value. French Railway Shares have maintained a steady price. The great railroad feature of the week has been the introduction of a new Canadian line—called the Great Central Trunk Line, supported by great names, and which has already been dealt in at 2½ premium per share. Australian Land and Mine Shares have been singularly flat throughout the week. The Californian Mines experienced a considerable rise during yesterday, and maintain a steady appearance to-day. One cannot believe that there will be the same great rise in Stock this year as we had in 1852. The innumerable speculations that have been rife during the last six months, and the money that has been sunk in the purchase of many really worthless Shares, although maintaining a nominal value, will prevent their entering into sound and well-supported investments. Money is said to be easy in the city; but on the Stock Exchange, where there is a heavy Bill account, no doubt some scarcity.

CORN MARKET.

Mark Lane, Friday evening, April 15, 1853.
THE supplies of all grain during the week have been very limited. The demand for Wheat has been slow, and prices hardly maintained. Barley has been more in request, but at no advance in prices. The value of Oats has been firmly maintained. For other articles the demand has been very limited, without alteration in prices.

BRITISH FUNDS FOR THE PAST WEEK. (CLOSING PRICES.)

	Satur.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thurs.	Frid.
Bank Stock	225	225½	224½	226	225	226
3 per Cent. Red.	100	99½	99½	99½	100	100
3 per Cent. Con. Ans.	100½	100½	100½	100½	100½	100½
Consols for Account	100½	100½	100½	100½	101	100½
3½ per Cent. An.	103½	103½	103½	103½	103½	103½
New 5 per Cent.	6	6 1-16	6½	6 1-16	6	6 1-16
India Stock	260	260	260½	262	261	262
Ditto Bonds, £1000	48	48	48	45	44	40
Ditto, under £1000	41	41	45	45	39	40
Ex. Bills, £1000	5 p	7 p	3 p	7 p	4 p	5 p
Ditto, £500	par	4 p	4 p	7 p	4 p	4 p
Ditto, Small	par	2 p	9 p	7 p	3 p	9 p

FOREIGN FUNDS. (LAST OFFICIAL QUOTATION DURING THE WEEK ENDING FRIDAY EVENING.)

FRIDAY EVENING.)			
Brazilian Bonds	100½	Spanish 3 p. Cents.	48½
Chilian 6 per Cents.	103	Spanish 3 p.Cts. New Def.	
Danish 3 per Cents.	85	Account, April 28	24½
Granada, ex Dec. 1849,		Spanish Com. Certif. of	
coupon	23½	Coupon not funded	6½
Mexican 3 per Cents.	24	Dutch 2½ per Cents.	66½
Peruvian Scrip	3½ pm.	Dutch 4 per Cent. Certif.	96½

French Plays.

ST. JAMES'S THEATRE.

On Monday, April 18, will be repeated, the Comedy of ANDRE, with other Entertainments.

The highly popular Play of LE CHEVALIER DE ST. GEORGES will be produced on Wednesday next.

Mr. Mitchell begs to announce that M. ROBERT HOUDIN having entered into several provincial engagements, his extraordinary SEANCES FANTASTIQUES, now in course of presentation at this Theatre, cannot possibly be extended beyond the 27th of this month; the Entertainment can therefore only be repeated in the following order:—On Tuesday Evening, April 19; Wednesday Morning, April 20; Thursday Evening, April 21; Saturday Morning, April 23; Tuesday Evening, April 26; and the Last Morning Entertainment, on Wednesday Morning, April 27.

Boxes, Stalls, and Tickets may be obtained at Mr. Mitchell's, 33, Old Bond Street; and at the Box-office of the Theatre.

MR. ALBERT SMITH'S MONT BLANC.

EVERY EVENING, at Eight o'clock, except Saturday. Stalls, 3s. (which can be secured at the Box-office every day from Eleven to Four); area, 2s.; gallery 1s.

A Morning Performance every Tuesday and Saturday, at Three o'clock.

A View of the celebrated Mer de Glace, from Montanvers, has been added to the Illustrations. Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly.

ON SUNDAY MORNING, APRIL 17th,

at Eleven o'clock, a LECTURE will be delivered at the Oxford Rooms, 36, Castle Street, Oxford Street, on THE SCHEME OF A CHURCH. BY WILLIAM MACCALL, Author of the "Education of Taste."

DO YOU BRUISE YOUR OATS YET?

One bushel of Oats crushed will nearly make two. Immense saving, and important improvement of the animal. Oat Bruisers, Chaff Cutters, Ploughs, Threshing Machines, Domestic Flour Mills, Light Carts, Mining Tools, Brick and Tile ditto, Corn Dressing ditto, Horse and Steam Machinery put up, &c. Repairs done.—M. WELAKE and CO., 118, Fenchurch Street. Pamphlet on Feeding, 1s. 4d. List with 240 Illustrations, 1s. 4d.

THE COMMITTEE of the TESTIMONIAL

from the friends of Free Thought, to constitute a Presentation to Mr. G. JACOB HOLYOAKE, have forwarded List-papers into the provinces, to numerous correspondents. Further applications are to be addressed to the "Secretary of the Testimonial Committee, 23, John Street, Fitzroy Square, London." The communications received by the Committee have, in variety, cordiality, and amount, exceeded their anticipations; and they have fixed on the Whitsun week in which to hold the public Presentation, so that provincial friends visiting London may have an opportunity of being present. Many distinguished names, and those of persons far from agreeing with Mr. Holyoake in speculative opinions, have frankly, practically, and generously testified to the usefulness of the free utterance of opinion in his person.

Post-office orders to be made payable to James Watson, Treasurer.

All List-papers to be returned not later than the 30th of April next.

Parties wishing to attend the Presentation will oblige by forwarding as far as possible their names to the Secretary by the 22nd inst., in order that a place may be secured large enough to accommodate all wishing to be present.

MR. JAMES WATSON, Treasurer.
MR. YOUNG, Chairman.
MR. TURLEY, Secretary.

AWARDED A PRIZE MEDAL UNDER CLASS XIX.

TO THE CARPET TRADE.—ROYAL

VICTORIA FELT CARPETING.—THE PATENT WOOLLEN CLOTH COMPANY beg to inform the Trade for that their NEW PATENTERS in CARPETS and TABLE COVERS for the present season are now out, and will be found far superior to any they have hitherto produced, both in style and variety. The public can be supplied at all respectable Carpet-houses in London and the country. The public deem it necessary to caution the public against parties who are selling an inferior description of goods as Felted Carpets, which will not bear comparison with their manufacture, either in style or durability; and that the genuineness of the goods can always be tested by purchasers, as the Company's Carpets are all stamped at both ends of the piece, "Royal Victoria Carpeting, London," with the royal arms in the centre.

The Company's Manufactories are at Elmwood Mills, Leeds; and Borough Road, London. Wholesale Warehouse at 8, LOVE LANE, WOOD STREET, CHEAPSIDE.

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CATALOGUE OF BEDSTEADS, sent free by post, contains designs and prices of upwards of ONE HUNDRED different Bedsteads; also of every description of Bedding, Blankets, and Quilts. And their new warerooms contain an extensive assortment of Bed-room Furniture, Furniture Chintzes, Damasks, and Dimities, so as to render their Establishment complete for the general furnishing of Bedrooms.

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